This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN · LIBRARIES ·

20/=

ASIATIC PAPERS

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. (1877),

Fellow of the University of Bombay (1887), Dipl. Litteris et Artibus (Sweden, 1889), Shams-ul-Ulama (Government of India, 1893), Officiér D'Académie (France, 1898), Officiér de l'Instruction Publique (France, 1902).

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE
BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

1905.

DS
5
.M68

v.1

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

The Religious System of the Parsees.

The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation.

Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their Comparison with similar Customs of other Nations.

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastûr Meherji Rânâ.

Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdya va Sahigiya-i-Seistân, *i. e.*, the Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Irân, and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistân (Pahlavi Translations, Part I.).

Jâmâspi (Pahlavi Translations, Part III.).

Wine among the Ancient Persians.

Astodân.

The Persian Mâr-nāmeh, or, The Book for the taking of Omens from Snakes.

Charms or Amulets and a Few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse.

Two Avesta Amulets.

In French.

Impressions d'un Parsi sur la Ville de Paris.

Un Visite de Constantinople.

La Cérémonie du Naôjote parmi les Parsis.

ગુજરાતી. IN GUJARATI.

વાયુચક્રશાસ્ત્ર Meteorology.

જમશેદ હોમ અને આતશ Jamshed, Hom, and Fire.

અવસ્તા જમાનાની ઘરસંસારી જીંદગી, ભુગોળ અને એકરારનામું The Social Life, Geography, and Articles of Faith of Avesta Times.

અનાહીત અને ફરોહર Anâhita and Farôhar.

ભવિષ્યની જીંદગી અથવા આત્માનું અમરપણું Immortality of the Soul.

મેહેર અને જશને મેહેરગાંન Mithra and the Feast of Mithras.

અવસ્તાનાં વિશેષ નામોની ફરહંગ A Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names.

ઈરાની વિષયો Irânian Essays, Part I.

મોત ઉપર વાએજ A Sermon on Death.

શાહનામુ અને ફીરદોશી Shâh-nâmeh and Firdousi.

જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક વિષયો Lectures before the Dnyân Prasârak Society.

ઈરાની વિષયો ભાગ બીજો Irânian Essays, Part II.

જરથોશ્તી ધર્મસંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાએજો Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects.

શાહનામુ, મીનોચેહેરના રાજ્યસુધી. Shâh-nâmeh up to the Reign of Minô-cheher.

ઈરાની વિષયો ભાગ ત્રીજો Irânian Essays, Part III.

બુનદેહેશ.

કદીમ ઈરાનીઓ, હીરૉડોટસ અને સ્ટ્રેબો મુજબ. (અવસ્તા અને બીજાં પારસી પુસ્તકો સરખામણી સાથે). The Ancient Irânians, according to Herodotus and Strabo, compared with the Avesta and other Parsee books.

Works edited by the same Author.

The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.

Mâdigân-i-Hazâr Dadistân.

DEDICATED

TO

THE PATRON, PRESIDENT, AND MEMBERS

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
AS A SOUVENIR

OF

THE CENTENARY OF THE SOCIETY,

AND

AS AN HUMBLE MARK OF GRATITUDE, FOR THE
INTELLECTUAL PLEASURE, ENJOYED IN THE
COMPANY OF ITS LEARNED MEMBERS
AND VALUABLE BOOKS.

PREFACE.

"We trust that Mr. Modi will some day collect his numerous essays into a volume; they are worthy of preservation."

(Rev. Dr. L. C. Casartelli, Professor, St. Bede's College, Manchester, in the Babylonian and Oriental Record, Vol. VIII., No. 3, p. 72, April, 1896.)

In this volume, I collect, as recommended by Dr. Casartelli, those of my papers, that have been read before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, leaving the publication of the papers before the Anthropological and other societies, for some other occasion. Of all the papers read before the Society, *two* have been omitted from this volume, as they form a volume in themselves, and were published only last year, as a separate volume. I have added, as an appendix, two other papers, read in Paris in 1889 before the Asiatic Society of Paris and "l'Académie des Inscriptions et belle lettres."

It is the centenary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is to be celebrated in the middle of January 1905, that has suggested to me the publication of these papers. I publish them here, as they—with the exception of two—were published, from time to time, in the Journals of the Society. The changes or modifications that are made are very few and far between.

I am very greatly indebted to the Society, especially to its excellent library—excellent in its treasures of old books. Were it not for these, I would not have been able to do even half of what I have done, in this volume. I look back with pleasure to the hours I have spent in the rooms of this Society, in the company of some of its learned members, while reading my papers or hearing those of others; and I

---

1 "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," and "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755—61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana."

look back with greater pleasure, to the days and months that I have passed at home, in the company of its precious treasures. It is as an humble mark of gratitude for the intellectual pleasure thus enjoyed, that I beg to dedicate this little volume to the Patron, President, and Members of this Society.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

THE STUDY, CHAKÂLÂ, ANDHERI,
31st December 1904.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

1. The River Karun, just opened to trade by the Persian Government (*vide* Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVII, Abstract of Proceedings, p. v.) 1
2. The Game of Ball-Bat (Chowgân-gui) among the Ancient Persians, as described in the Epic of Firdousi (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVIII, pp. 39—46) 23
3. The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Virâf-nâmeh of Ardâi Virâf (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVIII, pp. 192—205) 31
4. The So-called Pahlavi Origin of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, or, The Story of the Seven Wise Masters (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVIII, 206—212) 45
5. The Irish Story of Cucullin and Conloch and the Persian Story of Rustam and Sohrâb (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XVIII, pp. 317—329) 53
6. The Bas-relief of Beharâm Gour (Beharâm V.) at Naksh-i-Rustam, and his Marriage with an Indian Princess (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, pp. 58—75) 67
7. Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, pp. 224—236)... ... 85
8. Cashmere and the Ancient Persians (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, pp. 237—248) 99
9. The Antiquity of the Avesta (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, pp. 263—287) 111
10. The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Iranians (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX, pp. 365—374) 137
11. The Cities of Irân as described in the old Pahlavi Treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XX, pp. 156—190) 147
12. The Etymology of a Few Towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern Writers (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XX, pp. 217—233) 183

PAGE

13. "Sanjan," a Parsee town on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, 94 miles from Bombay. Is it the Sindan of the Arab Geographers of the 10th and 11th Centuries as stated by the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol XIV., Thânnâ)? Is it the town Hanjamana (हंजमन) referred to in the three Silâhâra grants[1] of the 10th and 11th Centuries? (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI, pp. 4—18 Abstract of Proceedings, p. III.) 201

14. An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI, pp. 49—65) 217

15. A New Medal of King Behrâm Gour of Persia (*vide* Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XX., Abstract of Proceedings, p. lxxvi)[2] 235

16. References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI., pp. 525—536)... ... 241

APPENDIX.

17. Quelques observations sur les Ossuaires Rapportés de Perse par M. Dieulafoy et déposés au Musée du Louvre 255

18. L'Etymologie Populaire des noms des etapes entre Pichaver et Kaboul. (*Vide* Journal Asiatique, Nouvembre-Décembre 1889. Huitième Serie, Tome XIV., pp. 527-28) 261

---

[1] (*a*) *Asiatic Researches I.*, p. 357—Paper by General Carnac; (*b*) *Indian Antiquary*, V., p. 276—Paper by Dr. Bühler; (*c*) *Indian Antiquary.*, IX, p. 33—Paper by Mr. Justice Telang.

[2] This paper was read before the Society on 15th March 1900, but being published in the Cama Memorial Volume (pp. 225-30), is not printed in the Journal of the Society.

The River Karun.

[*Read, 16th of January* 1889. *President,—The Hon'ble Mr. Raymond West in the Chair.*]

The opening of the river Karun to trade by the Persian Government is welcome news for England and India. Though the concessions originally granted at the instance of Sir H. D. Wolff, our present Plenipotentiary at Persia, are one by one being withdrawn, we must accept them as the thin end of the wedge and wait for better results. About fifty years ago, even the mere navigation of the river was looked upon with an eye of jealousy by the Persian Government. They considered it so much opposed to their interests, that, in order to avoid any conflict, Captain Hennel, the then Resident and Political Agent at Bushire, had asked the Bombay Government to issue a special order prohibiting even an attempt at navigation in the river. The steam vessel Euphrates, in the Euphrates expedition, under Colonel Chesney, was the first that had attempted to go up the river in 1836. But it had then succeeded to go so far as Ahwaz only. Lieutenant Selby, I.N., commanding the s.s. Assyria, was, however, very fortunate in navigating the river for the first time in 1842, as far as Shuster, about 150 miles from the sea.[1] He was accompanied in this expedition by Mr. (now Sir) Henry Layard, who had also previously travelled at a great risk of life in the regions watered by the Karun.[2]

I will treat my subject under two heads:—

I. A geographical account of the river and the towns over it as given by modern writers and Firdousi.

II. The identification of the river with the river Kharenanghaiti of the Avesta.

---

[1] *Vide* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, Vol. 14, pp. 219 to 246.

[2] *Vide* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, Vol. 16, pp. 49 to 67.

I.

The country through which the river Karun passes is very interesting, not only from a commercial and political point of view, but also from an archæological and antiquarian point of view. It was on the shores of this river Karun, that Daniel, according to the Old Testament, had his celebrated dream in the palace at Shushan. It is the river down which, we learn from Arrian, Alexander the Great sailed in his journey from Persepolis to Susa, and it is the river which his admiral, Nearchus, ascended with the fleet placed at his disposal. It is the river which is spoken of in the celebrated march of Taimur, in later times, as the Chahar Dangah.

To a Parsee, the region traversed by this river is very interesting, because it contains a good deal that would remind him of the greatness of the ancient Persian Empire under the Sassanians, the last dynasty of its kings, whose overthrow threw them on the foreign shores of this country, where, after several vicissitudes of fortune, they have at last settled to lead a quiet and peaceful, prosperous and contented life, under the benign British Government, whose shadow, they wish, may continue to be as auspicious over their head as that of the bird Homâê, mentioned in the old Persian fables. It is the region where the foreign Parthian dynasty under its last king Ardavân (the Artabanes of the Greek writers), was overthrown by the well-known Ardeshir Bâbêgân (Ardeshir I.). Ardeshir Bâbêgân, whose memory is cherished by the Parsees, even up to this day, when his glorious name is mentioned in the usual Afringân ceremony as "Ardeshir Bâbêgân aîdar yâd bâd anosheh ravân ravani," *i.e.*, "May the Ardeshir Bâbêgân of pious soul be remembered here." It is the region where Shâpur, the son of Ardeshir, had, after his victory at the battle of Edessa, imprisoned his royal Roman prisoner Valerian, whose prison house is even now shown by tradition to inquisitive travellers in a castle at Shuster on the banks of the Karun. It is the region where Hormuz, the grandson of Ardeshir, had founded the well-known city known by his name, the city of Râm Hormuz, which also gives its name to a large plain watered by the Karun. It is the region which even now contains many signs of the greatness of the Sassanian dynasty.

We will first trace the course of the river from its source downwards.[1] The principal sources of the Karun are in the mountains of

---

[1] *Vide* Sir Henry Layard's Early Adventures in Persia, &c., Vol. II., chap. 18

Zardah Kuh (*i.e.*, the yellow mountain) near Ispahan, on the opposite or eastern side of which are the Chehel Cheshmeh (*i.e.*, the forty springs), the sources of the Zindeh Rud (*i.e.*, the living river), which runs to Ispahan.[1] According to Kinneir, it begins at a place called "Correng." The river, after forcing its way through lofty mountains and receiving many small streams, is joined by its principal tributary, the Ab-i-Bors, a few miles above Susan. It then enters the valley of Susan. Below Susan it is crossed by a magnificent bridge which Sir H. Layard attributes to the Kayânian epoch. "It then emerges into the plain of Akili. It receives several tributary streams, the principal of which are the Talâk, which rises near Kuh-Keïnu, ... and runs near the foot of Diz-Malekân to Zin-rud; and the Ab-i-Shur, a large salt stream. . . . . The Karun enters the plain of Akili by a narrow gorge,"[2] which is fortified by two ancient castles, probably Sassanian, the Kileh-i-Rustam on the right and the Kileh-i-Dukhtar (*i.e.*, Daughter's Castle) on the left. After running quietly for ten miles on the plains of Akili, it is joined by the large salt stream of Beïtawand. Then it passes near Shuster. Here the river is divided into two parts, the main stream, and an artificial canal, called the Ab-i-Gargar, which joins the main stream again at Band-i-Kir. Here the main stream is also joined by the river of Dizful. After this junction, the river Karun runs for some considerable length in three distinct parallel streams according to the soil through which the waters have flowed. The main stream of the Karun which runs in the centre, presents a dull reddish colour; the Ab-i-Gargar a milkwhite colour, and the Dizful, black. About thirteen miles below Band-i-Kir it passes the village of Waïs. It then passes by Ahwaz. From Ahwaz it runs for some distance well nigh straight and then takes a serpentine course up to Ismâiliyeh. Thence, passing by the village of Idrisyeh, it runs to the Haffâr, and running by Mohammerah, joins the Shat-al-Arab.[3]

According to Lieutenant Selby, who was the first to navigate this river to a very great extent, the Karun communicates with the sea by two channels. The direct and natural mouth and the one by which it formerly emptied itself into the sea is by that of the Khor Bamushir. The indirect channel is that of the Haffar (or canal), an artificial canal through which the Karun now discharges the greater part of its waters into the Shat-al-Arab and thence into the sea. Sir Henry Layard says:—" In the early part of this century, and before that, the Karun emptied itself into the sea by two or three additional outlets." Shaikh Suliman at one time (in 1763) succeeded in deviating the whole of the Karun at the deserted village of Sobla into an artificial channel that passed through his town of Goban to the sea, thus raising the town in prosperity and importance. During the time of the second invasion of Kurrim Khan, the dyke, which diverted the course of the river, was in ruins and the river ran in its original bed. "The earlier mouths of this river to the east of the Bamushir had been gradually deserted by it and were silted up and dry. In fact, the Karun had for centuries been forcing its way westwards until it found a convenient outlet for the principal portion of its waters through the Haffar canal into the Shat-al-Arab." Whether the Haffar through which the Karun empties itself into the Shat-al-Arab is an artificial canal or a natural outlet was at one time a question of great discussion and immense importance. About fifty years ago Persia and Turkey were well nigh on the point of going to war with each other, and the point of dispute then depended upon this question. Both these powers claimed the important town of Mohammerah, which is situated on this canal. Persia claimed it and took it as a Persian town, saying that the Karun being all along its course a Persian river, the town of Mohammareh belonged to it as a matter of course, because the Haffar on which it stood was the natural outlet, and therefore a part and parcel of the Karun. They said, that if the Haffar was not one of its original outlets, yet the river Karun had at some very remote period deviated of itself from its original course and made its way to the Shat-al-Arab. They did not acknowledge Haffar to be an artificial canal. On the other hand, Turkey, to whom the possession of this town was of very great importance, as it commanded the navigation of its two very important rivers—the Euphrates and the Tigris—whose joint waters were known as the Shat-al-Arab (the river of the Arab), said that the Haffar did not form a part and parcel of the Karun, inasmuch as it was not one of the original outlets of the river, but an artificial outlet. That this Haffar is an artificial canal and not an original or natural outlet appears from the very meaning of the word, which from an Arabic root *hafr*,

---

[1] Sir H. Layard on Khuzistan. Royal Geographical Society's Journal, Vol. 16, p. 50.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 51.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 53-54.

i.e., digging out, comes to mean a canal. The point in dispute between the two powers, however, was decided in favour of Persia by Lord Aberdeen, the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Haffar, the artificial outlet of the Karun, is from 200 to 400 yards in breadth and from 30 to 40 feet in depth. This great width and depth have made some writers doubt that it is an artificial canal. But the existence of other similar large canals in different parts of Persia has removed these doubts. Of these, the celebrated Naharwan, running from the river Zab in the province of Bagdad to the sea, which is said to have been constructed by Shapur Zolaktâf and extended by the great Noshirwan the Just, is about 450 miles in length and 120 to 130 yards in breadth. It still stands, as Lieutenant Selby says, "in solemn grandeur, filling the beholder with wonder almost allied to awe, as he gazes on the remains of what once was so glorious a country." The canal in the plain of Babylon connecting the Euphrates and the Tigris and the great Ab-i-Gargar canal, of which I will speak later on, are further instances of the great water works constructed by the kings of the Sassanian dynasty. Commander F Jones, I. N., in his account of the great Naharwan canal, communicated in 1850 to the Bombay Geographical Society[1] by Mr. Malet, the then Chief Secretary to Government, says of these canals that, "As a prolific source of revenue, the value of water was not only fully appreciated by the ancients, but an eminent skill, if we may judge by the decayed remains that are displayed to us, pervaded the system employed for its circulation over the vast plain comprising the territory of Irak. . . . The region we are treating demanded a degree of hydraulic proficiency compatible to the undertaking in the distribution of water over so large an extent, and in the construction of the Naharwan canal it was eminently displayed."

Having traced the course of the Karun from its source downwards to the sea, we will now consider the important towns standing on its banks. In doing so, we will trace our course upwards. Mohammerah is the first town of importance on ascending the river Karun. It stands, as said above, on the Haffar canal joining the river Karun with the Shat-al-Arab. It stands half-way between the two streams. As Sir Henry Layard says, " the position which it occupies is one of great importance to any Power having commercial and political interests in the East. It commands the entrance to the Euphrates and the Tigris, which are navigable to the very heart of the Turkish dominions in Asia and that of the Karun, which flows through one of the richest, though one of the most neglected, provinces of Persia. These rivers are destined to become great military and trading highways. It is consequently to the interest of England that their mouths should not fall into the possession of a Power which might be hostile to her. . . . Having the Karun to the north-eastward, it (Mohammerah) communicates with the fertile plains of Khuzistan, and having the Shat-al-Arab to the north-westward, it communicates with Basrah, Bagdad and other important towns on the Euphrates and the Tigris. Again, it communicates with the sea by the direct channel known as the Khor Bamushir and by the Shat-al-Arab." Now when the Karun is open to trade, it promises from a commercial point of view to be the most important town on the rivers of Mesopotamia. From a military point of view also it is said to enjoy a very excellent position. Again it enjoys a healthy climate all the year round.

---

[1] Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, Vol. 9, pp. 231 to 342.

On ascending further up from Mohammerah the river Karun passes through the classical plains of Ram Hormuz, so called from the city of that name situated therein and founded by Hormuz. The name is the contraction of Ârâm-i-Hormuz, or the "Rest of Hormuz," it being a favourite place of that king. It was on these plains that the famous battle was fought in which Ardeshir Bâbêgân overthrew the Parthian dynasty in its last king Ardavân. From Mohammerah the Karun runs N.N.E. and S.S.W., having Idrisyeh, a stronghold, and Ismailia, a small trading town, on its banks. The river then passes near Ahwaz, the town up to which only, according to later telegrams, the Persian Government will allow foreign vessels to go.

Ahwaz, which is built on the site of the ancient Aginis, is a town of great importance. It is about 40 miles south of Shuster. At one time it was a city of much importance. It was the capital of the province of Khuzistan and the winter residence of the kings of the Parthian dynasty, and especially of its last king Ardavan. Here are still seen the remnants of a great palace of the ancient Persian kings. A wall of the palace now standing is 300 feet long and 15 feet high. It is built of hewn stones, many pieces of which measure more than six feet. These ruins belong to Shapur I. It appears from Firdousi that this monarch, after his victory over the Roman Emperor Valerian at the battle of Balunieh on the shores of the Euphrates (the battle of Edessa according to the Roman writers), came to this town of Ahwaz, stayed there for a period of one full year, and spent a good deal of his energy and the money got from the Romans as the price of peace, in scheming and building many public buildings all round. These ruins near Ahwaz seem to be one of them. The passage in Firdousi runs as follows (Mohl. V, p. 392):—

Be Bâluineh dar bebud rûz haft,
Ze Rûm andar âmad be Ahwâz raft.
Yakî Shârasân nam Shâpur kard,
Kê guyand bâ dâd Shâpur kard.
Hamî-bord yaksâl az ân sheher ranj,
Beperdakht bâ ranj besyâr ganj.

i.e., "He was for seven days in Bâlunyeh (Edressa), then left the Roman territories and went to Ahwaz. He built a city of the name of Shapur. They say Shapur founded it with justice (*i.e.*, spread justice into the town). He worked hard for one year in that city and spent a good deal of wealth together with trouble." In later times Ahwaz was in the zenith of its prosperity under the earlier Khalifs of the house of Abbas. It was celebrated for its sugar plantations, and carried on a large trade with India. It no longer enjoys any trace of its original prosperity. Of its present condition Lieutenant Selby says:—"A collection of hovels rather than houses, built of the stones which once formed a part of the city on whose site it now stands, a barren desert on every side, vestiges of canals which once irrigated and carried plenty through the whole of this then productive country, watermills, formerly used to grind the corn and press the sugarcanes, which the country abundantly produced, but now neglected and useless, are all that remain of this once great and important city; and the knowledge of the power and importance it possessed in former times, contrasted with the present wretched state of the place, caused me to view it with peculiar interest. I could hardly reconcile the idea that the silent and sandy desert, I then trod, once teemed with life and cultivation, and that the town on which I gazed was really all that remained to mark the spot where a city—great, opulent, and powerful—once stood."

In the vicinity of this town of Ahwaz there are certain excavations in the sides of a hill which Sir John Macdonald Kinneir and Lieutenant Selby think to have been used as cemeteries. In some of these, difficult of access, Lieutenant Selby found a quantity of human bones. These excavations must be the Astodâns or bone receptacles of the ancient Persians, the like of which are seen in other parts of Persia, and which European travellers erroneously think to be tombs.

It is near this town, that the large famous *band* is thrown across the river, which is known as the "Band of Ahwaz." "It still bears," says Lieutenant Selby, "strong evidence of the proficiency the inhabitants had attained in the art of building; the cement which has been used being more durable than the rock itself, on which it is built, as this has in many places worn away, while the cement stands out in relief." It may be mentioned here that the durability of the cement used in ancient Persia was attributed to sheep's milk. Sir William Ousley says, on the authority of a native writer of Persia, that the cement formed by the mixture of sheep's milk with lime and mortar was held in Persia to be the most durable.[1] This *band* or dam was built on a ridge of rock to shut up the water of the river in order to enable it to flow in the adjoining canals for the purposes of irrigation. The water is allowed to run in the original bed of the river by an opening about 40 yards in breadth. Consequently it rushes with a very great force and velocity. Lieutenant Selby, the first man who attempted the navigation of the river higher up in March 1842, tried to ascend up the river by this mouth, but finding the rush of the water too strong for his small vessel, he overcame the current and effected the ascent with the help of a large hawser, drawn by his men on the shore.

The next town of any importance after Ahwaz is Weis, 35 miles east of Ahwaz by the river, in lat. 31° 40′ N. Lieutenant Selby thinks the present bed of the river Karun between Ahwaz and Band-i-Kir, which is higher up, not to be its original bed, but a canal, which is the continuation of the Ab-i-Gargar canal, which is said to have been built by the Sassanian king Shapur, and which taking its water at Shuster higher up, empties it at Band-i-Kir. Ascending higher up we come to Band-i-Kir, which lies at the junction of the Karun with the river Dizful and the canal of Ab-i-Gargar. It is so called from an ancient dam in its neighbourhood said to have been constructed with *kir*, *i.e.*, bitumen.

---

[1] Travels in Persia, Vol. I, p. 358n.

Going higher up ten miles from Band-i-Kir we come to the celebrated town of Shuster. The river here, as it passes by the town of Shuster, is sometimes called the Ab-i-Shuster, *i.e.*, the river of Shuster. According to Kinneir, some oriental writers say that it was Hoshang, the second monarch of the Peshdadyan dynasty, who had built this town. But the public water-works round Shuster show them to be of the Sassanian times. The river Karun flows very rapidly near Shuster. Firdousi (Mohl V, p. 392), speaking of this river in the reign of Shapur, the son of Ardeshir Bâbêgân, thus describes the rapidity of its current:—

Yakî rûd bud pehan dar Shûshter,
Ke mâhi nekardî barû bar guzar.

i.e., "There was a large river at Shuster, over which no fish could pass." Sir William Ousley finds these lines in his manuscript of the Shahnameh[1] as:—

Yakî rûd pehan zîê Shûshter,
Ne kardi bar ân rûd bar kas guzar.

i.e., "There was a certain large river near Shuster; nobody could pass over that river." According to Sir John Malcolm and Sir J. Macdonald Kinneir,[2] the Persian historians derived the name of this town from "*shus*," which, they say is a Pehlvi word meaning "pleasant." Shuster, they consider to be the comparative form of *shus*, meaning "more pleasant." It is said that this name was given to it by Shapur, the son of Ardeshir Bâbêgân who founded the town in commemoration of his victory over the Roman Emperor Valerian. But I do not think this is the proper derivation of the word. We have no word like "shus" in the Pehlvi language meaning "pleasant." The more probable derivation of the term, I think, is ShahShetra, *i.e.*, the City of the King. We know of a city founded by Shah Shapoor known as Shapur. This city of Shuster which was also founded by Shah Shapoor was probably named by him Shah Shetra, *i.e.*, the City of the King.

---

[1] *Ibid* p. 357.

[2] History of Persia, Vol. 1, p. 542; and Kinneir's Memoirs of the Persian Empire, p. 98.

The water-works on the river Karun near Shuster founded by the Sassanian king Shapur I. are still admired by various travellers. They are built with a threefold object : first, from a military point of view, to surround the city by water, so as to secure it from an attack, the town of Shuster itself being built on a natural eminence; secondly, to supply with water the city itself, which stands on a higher level; and, thirdly, with the most important object of irrigating the surrounding country. Here a great *band* or dyke is thrown across the river. It is built with a twofold object: (1) of supplying a strong foundation for the bridge across the river; and (2) of raising the water to a sufficient height to fill the canal of Ab-i-Gargar which, taking the water of the Karun at this place, fertilizes the country round Shuster and then after a long run joins the main stream again at Band-i-kir. "This dyke," says Sir John Malcolm, "is formed of cut stones (from 15 to 25 feet long), cemented by lime and fastened together by clamps of iron: it is 20 feet broad and 1,200 in length. The whole is a solid mass, excepting the centre, where two small arches have been constructed to allow a part of the stream to flow in its natural bed. This great work is more worthy of our attention, from being almost the only one of a useful nature amid those vast ruins, which bespeak the pomp and magnificence of the monarchs of Persia; and it has, as if preserved by its nobler character, survived all the sumptuous palaces and luxurious edifices of the same age." According to Firdousi, Shapoor had sought the aid of a Roman architect in the construction of the dyke and the bridge over the Karun near Shuster. Though we find a slight difference in the account of the battle between Shapoor, the Persian King, and Valerian the Roman Emperor, as given by Gibbon (Vol. I., p. 161-62), on the authority of Roman writers and that by Firdousi the Persian poet, we learn from both these sources that a large number of Romans had fallen into the hands of Shapoor as captives. Among these Firdousi includes one "Baranoush," who, he says, was the general of Valerian. After the battle of Edessa (Baluuieh according to Firdousi), on the banks of the Euphrates, Shapoor returned to Ahwaz, and then to Shuster, with the large amount of treasure given to him by Valerian as tribute and with Baranoush as his prisoner. He kept Baranoush always by his side and always consulted him in the construction of palaces and water-works, in which he spent a great part of the money he got from Valerian.

This explains the Roman style of architecture observed by European travellers in this part of Persia. Firdousi thus speaks about the construction of the bridge over Shuster (Mohl V., pp. 392, 394):—

Barânoush râ goft gar hindaçy,
Puli sâzi ân jâegeh chun raçy.
Kê mâ bâz gardîm va în pul be jâê,
Bemânad be dânâî-ê-rehnumaê.
Barash kardê bâlâê în pul hazâr,
Bekhâhi zê ganj ânchê khâhi bekâr.
Tô az dânish-i-filsufân i-Rûm,
Bekâr âr chandî badîn marz-ô-bûm.
Chu in pul bar âyad suyê khân-i-khîsh,
Beraî tâ ziyî bâsh mehmân-i-khish.
Abî shâdmâni va bâ aîmanî,
Zî bad dur-v-az dast-i-Ahrimnani.
Bekâr andar âmad Barânoush mard,
Bê sê sâl ân pul tamâmi be kard.
Chu shud pul tamâm û zî Shuster beraft,
Suyê khân-i-khud ruî benehâd taft.

i.e.—"He (the king) said to Baranoush, 'If you are a geometrician, make a bridge over it like a rope, so that, though we may go away from this world, yet the bridge, may remain in its place through the skill of its architect. Let the length of the bridge be 1,000 cubits, and ask from the treasury whatever amount is required. Make use of some of the skill of the learned of Rome in this work in this country. When this bridge is finished, go to your own house, and as long as you live, be your own guest with joy and pleasure, remaining far away from evil and from the hand of Ahriman.' Baranoush began the work and finished it in three years. When the bridge was finished, he went from Shuster and went quickly in the direction of his house." M. Mohl in the translation of the latter part of this passage commits a great mistake in making Barânoush return to the house of the king instead of his own house. He does not seem to have understood the promise given by Shapoor to Baranoush to grant him liberty from captivity if he properly built the bridge. In the above passage of Firdousi the following words of King Shapoor to the Roman architect Baranoush are really worth noting. He says:—"Build the bridge in such a way that, though we may depart from this world, this bridge may remain in its place for a long time to come." And let us see what a European traveller says of it after a period of 1,600 years. Lieutenant Selby says of the water-works at Shuster:—"Unless destroyed by some convulsion of nature, it will endure as long as the world lasts, and will for ever commemorate the name of Shapoor under whom it was undertaken and completed." About the bridge he says:—"And that some idea of its strength may be formed, I need only mention that, situated as it is at the very foot of the hills, the river from heavy falls of rain and snow melting on the mountains has been known to rise 30 feet in one night, converting the stream into a torrent; yet has this bridge stood for years until the spring of 1842, when, in an extraordinary flood, it remained completely under water for two days, and on the river subsiding, a part of the structure was found to have yielded to the immense pressure which it had had to sustain. It is erected on a *band* or dam constructed of blocks of stone from 15 to 25 feet long." From a military point of view the city of Shuster enjoys a very strong position. It is situated on an eminence and is surrounded by the river on its two sides. On the other sides it is surrounded by a ditch which can be easily put in order for the purposes of defence. "Naturally strong from its position," says Lieutenant Selby, "it might be rendered sufficiently so, to resist any other than a well-appointed European force. . . . . Shuster is a spot which should be viewed with peculiar interest by us, whether for the advantages of mercantile communication or in the event of a war with Persia. For, from this point we might not only supply Khuzistan, one of her finest provinces, but pour an unlimited force into the heart of the country. Naturally strong, completely insulated, and capable of being rendered almost impregnable, with no obstruction to our water communication with India, Shuster might in our possession become of the greatest importance to us, both in a military and political point of view, if ever the time should come, which I trust is far distant, when we shall be at variance with Persia."

On the subject of its trade, Lieutenant Selby says: "The country about Shuster produces grain of all descriptions in abundance, and the people only require encouragement and a feeling of security to export opium, wool, cotton, and flax, all of which can be abundantly produced. It would import in return sugar, hardware, cutlery, chintzes, cottons, and woollens, nearly all of which are now supplied by Russia, notwithstanding the tedious land carriage to which merchandize coming from that country into the southern parts of Persia must be subjected." "Little trade is at present carried on by Shuster," said Lieutenant Selby, about fifty years ago, "its principal imports being tea and other Russian articles from Ispahan, and dates, rice, and a few English articles from Basrah. Many efforts have indeed been made by some spirited inhabitants of Shuster and the vicinity to commence a trade on a larger scale than is now carried on, but checked by the discountenance of the Persian authorities, their efforts have been abortive, and their desire to better themselves and their country has been met with a studied indifference in their rulers, whose aim has ever been to prevent Shuster from rising to that importance which its situation and natural advantages justly entitle it to hold. . . . Close to the hills, by which the inhabitants may enjoy any temperature, the parching heat of summer alleviated by the snow which is procured in profusion throughout the year, watered on all sides by the river, and canals, numerous extensive gardens close around. Shuster presents a most pleasing appearance, and might, from the natural advantages it possesses, soon be held in that estimation it was formerly, and become one of the first commercial towns in the southern part of Persia."

Sir Henry Layard corroborates Lieutenant Selby when he says, "The trade of Shuster which had at one time been considerable as it was the capital of Khuzistan, whence the inhabitants of the province obtained their supplies, and where its produce was sent to market, had been so greatly reduced in consequence of the corrupt administration and oppression of the Persian officials and by the transfer of the seat of Government to Dizful, that the extensive bazaars were almost empty. Situated on two navigable rivers, the main body of the river Karun and the ancient canal which receives a large part of its waters, and at the foot of the mountains over which passes the highway to Ispahan and to the centre of Persia the city is admirably fitted for the development of an important commerce." Let us observe here that there was a great difference of opinion among the travellers of Persia as to whether this town of Shuster is not the ancient Susa referred to by the Greek writers such as Herodotus, Diordorus and Arrian, as one of the seats of the ancient Persian monarchs.[1] But it appears that this town of Shuster is quite different from Susa on the shores of the Chirkheh, situated further west.

Though Lieutenant Selby went up the river up to Shuster only, he thought the river to be navigable up to its very source in the Bakhtiary mountains by means of specially constructed powerful vessels. Sir Henry Layard, who had travelled for a very long time in these parts, saw laden rafts moving up and down the river in these mountainous regions. Ab-i-Bors, or the river of Bors, is one of the principal confluents of the river in these regions. While fording it on animals, Sir Henry found the water deep, and the stream so rapid, that the donkeys could scarcely breast it.

The next place of any importance on the Karun, higher up from Shuster, is the place known as the ruins of Shusan. This place is pointed out as the site of the celebrated vision of Daniel (viii., 2), wherein he saw the fall of Persia and Media and the subsequent rise and fall of Greece. Daniel thus describes the place:—"And I saw in a vision, and it came to pass, when I saw that I (was) at Susan (in) the palace, which is (in) the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai." Thus, if this Shushan is the Shushan mentioned in the Old Testament, then the river Ulai, on whose banks Shushan of the palace stood, is the modern Karun, on which the ruins of Shushan stand. Again, even now, a place is shown to the travellers in the valley of this town of Shushan as the tomb of Daniel. The spot is held to be very sacred by the Bakhtiary people, and the tradition that Daniel was buried there is of very ancient origin. It is frequented by dervishes and other religious people. Sir Henry Rawlinson[2] and others hold this place to be the Shushan and the Karun to be the Ulai of the Old Testament. But Sir Henry Layard and others assign the ruins of Susa situated on the Chirkheh to the site of Daniel's Shushan. Thus there are two places in the province of the Ancient Susiana that claim the honour of being the sacred place of the tomb of Daniel. Again, tradition has given to both these places a tomb of Daniel. A place known as the tomb of Daniel at Susa is also visited by the Jews, Christians, and Mahomedans as a sacred place. The tomb at Shushan on the Karun is known as that of Daniel-i-Akbar, *i. e.*, the Great Daniel, and that at Susa as that of Daniel-i-Ashkar, *i. e.*, the Lesser Daniel.

---

[1] Kinneir's Memoir of Persia, pp. 100, 101.

[2] Paper on Khuzistan, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 9, p. 85.

Sir Henry Rawlinson says on this subject:—"I believe then, that in ancient times, there were two cities of the name of Sûsan, or Susa, in the province of Susiana—the more ancient, which is the Shushan of Scripture, being situated at Sûsan on the Kuran or Eulæus; the other, the Susa of the Greeks, at Sûs, near the Kerkhah, or Choaspes. The river of Dizfûl I consider to be the Coprates; the Âb-i-Zird and its continuation the Jerrâhi, the Hedyphon or Hedypnus; and the united arms of the Kuran and Dizfûl river, the real Pasitigris."[1]

Leaving apart the question of the determination of the site of the Shushan of the Old Testament, the ruins in the valley of Sûsan on the banks of the Karun are said to be very old. Some belong to the Sassanian period, and others are still older.

In the valley of Shushan, the Karun passes by the side of two fortresses known as the Kaleh-i-Rustam, *i. e.*, the Castle of Rustam the national hero of old Iran, and the Kaleh-i-Dukhtar, *i. e.*, the Castle of the Daughter. The legend connected with these castles reminds us of Firdousi's story of Tehemina and Rustam.

As there are no other places worth mentioning on the river, we will now speak of the importance of the river Karun. But before doing so, we will say a few words on its canal, the Âb-i-Gargar, as no account of the river will be complete without an account of this important canal.

The Âb-i-Gargar canal is said to have been cut by the well-known Shapur, to whom many grand works of art on the Karun and round about are attributed. It runs from the main river Karun at Shuster in a south-easterly direction, and joins the main river again at Band-i-Kir, where the river of Dizful also meets the Karun. It is called the Nahr-i-Masrukan by some oriental geographers. Latterly it was also called the Dû Dângah[2] (*i.e.*, two parts), because it carried two-sixths of the water from the Karun, while the remaining four-sixths ran in the original bed of the river. It is now called Ab-i-Gargar from the name of a Mahullah or street of that name in the town of Shuster through which it runs. Tradition reports that this artificial canal did not end at Band-i-Kir, but continued up to Ahwaz, and that the bed of the river Karun from Band-i-Kir to Ahwaz is not its original natural bed, but an artificial bed. Major Rawlinson and Lieutenant Selby believe in the truth of this tradition, especially because "the long straight reach from that place (Band-i-Kir) to Ahwaz bears a much greater resemblance to an artificial than to a natural channel." This canal is about ten miles in length, from 12 to 18 feet in depth in the lowest season, and from 60 to 120 yards in breadth. Lieutenant Selby found it much better adapted for steam navigation than the main stream of the Karun itself, the reason being that its current is less rapid. The town of Shuster is approached nearer, by three miles, by this canal than by the main stream. Lieutenant Selby ran on until within one mile of the town, where a natural ledge of rock closed the passage for his steamer; but a small opening of the width of about 20 yards allowed boats of 20 tons to go to the very heart of the town.

---

[1] *Ibid*, Vol. 9.p 85.

[2] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol 9, p. 74, Major Rawlinson on Khuzistan.

The opening of the river Karun to trade affords many commercial advantages. Shuster, the furthermost place from the sea hitherto reached by a steam vessel, can be approached at any season by a passage of, at most, 18 days from Bombay. Wood adapted for fuel on the steam-ships is plentiful all along the banks. The people on the banks and in the adjoining parts are well disposed to the English. They hate the Persians of the capital and other parts, who often oppress them and look upon them with a jealous eye, because, being somewhat isolated in their mountainous districts, they preserve the tone of independence towards the Government. The people are hospitable and inclined to pursue a quite agricultural life and to trade with the English. The opening of the river Karun will open the way to many other parts of Persia by other rivers, such as the river of Dizful, which meets it at Band-i-Kir. "It is a source of extreme wonder and surprise to me," said Lieutenant Selby (Jour. R. Geographical S., XIV., p. 242), about half a centurya go, "that they (the rivers), being as it were the high road into the very heart of that part of Persia with which we now take such a roundabout method of trading, should so long have been neglected, and that we should have so quietly shut our eyes to their vast importance. Russia, though struggling with a tedious land-carriage, supplies the markets of this province with European articles; which we could much more easily do by water at once from England or our colonies. A commercial treaty entered into with Persia, our steamers running on the rivers of Mesopotamia, these rivers strictly in the Persian dominions, and having been easily and safely traversed by a vessel possessing much less capabilities for river navigation than the boats which are now built for that purpose, what prevents us, I would ask, from commencing that intercourse with the inhabitants, which their advancements in civilization and our own interests so imperatively demand? An extremely healthy and productive region, friendly tribes on the banks of the rivers, the country fertile in objects of interest both to the merchant and geographer, our present political relations with Persia considered, all tend to point out these rivers as the means whereby we may not only increase our political power, but our commercial advantages." Thus said Lieutenant Selby about fifty years ago, and I think under the *regime* of our present ambassador at Persia, we are nearer the point of his wishes being realised.

Lieutenant Selby (*Ibid*, p. 245), thus speaks of the regions traversed by the Karun and the river Dizful :—"If any political movement is to be attempted in this quarter—if the spirit of discovery and research continue to actuate, as it ever has done, our government—if a material increase in our commercial relations with Persia is considered of moment—if the connection of ancient with modern history, in some of its most interesting points, still continue to hold out charms to the antiquarian and geographer, then is this country one of those which should be most particularly examined, and which would yield an abundant harvest."

On the nature of the water of the Karun, Von Hammer, quoted by Mr. G. Long in his article on the Site of Susa[1] says on the authority of an oriental manuscript that "the water is always cool, and has so digestive a power that, under this burning sky, the inhabitants of this country eat the heaviest food for the stomach, trusting to its digestive power—and they do digest." Sir Henry Layard, Lieutenant Selby, and other travellers confirm this. This seems to be the property of the waters of this river as well as of those of the Choaspes. We learn from Herodotus that the Persian kings, in whatever distant parts of their extensive territories they were, always sent for the water of the Choaspes.

---

[1] Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. III., p. 261.

II.

Now, we come to the question by what name is the Karun known in the books of the Parsees, the descendants of the original occupants of the land.

As mentioned by Professor Justi and Dr. West, this river is one of the rivers mentioned in the Pahlavi Bundehesh. Chapter twentieth of this work contains a list of the principal rivers of Persia and a short description of each of them. The river Khoreh mentioned therein is the same as the modern Karun. The word is differently written in different manuscripts. As Pahlavi writings admit of different readings, the word is read Khvaraê by Dr. West, Khurâê by Professor Justi, and Khoreh by the old Dasturs of Bombay. In this paper we will speak of it as Khoreh as read by Dastur Edaljee Jâmâspâsânâ of Bombay.

That this river Khoreh of the Pahlavi Bundehesh is the same as the modern Karun appears from several facts. Firstly, we learn from travellers in this part of Persia, such as Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Layard, Sir John Macdonald Kinneir, and Lieutenant Selby, that the Karun is the largest river in Khuzistan, or, as they term it, a very noble river. Now the Pahlavi Bundehesh also mentions the Khoreh as the largest river in Khuzistan. Secondly, these travellers say that the Karun rises near Ispahan in the mountains of Kuh-i-Zerd. The Bundehesh says of the Khoreh also, that it rises near Ispahan. Thirdly, according to modern travellers, the Karun or the Khoreh empties itself in the Tigris, or the Dijleh after it has joined the Euphrates. We read in the Bundehesh the following passage on this subject[1]:—"Khôreh rûd bûn-i-khânân min Spâhân pavan Khôjistân barâ vadirêd farâz val dâîrîd (Dijlah) rûd rîzêd. Avash pavan Spâhân Mesrakân rud karîtûnand," *i.e.*, "The river Khorêh has its source near Ispahan. It flows through Khusistan, pours forth (its waters) into the river Daîrîd (Dijleh, *i.e.*, the Tigris). In Ispahan it is called the Mesrakan river." Fourthly, we learn from the above passage that the river Khoreh is called Mesrakan at Ispahan. We learn this also from another passage of the Bundehesh, where we read—Khôreh rûd mûn Mesrâkânach Karîtûnand ; *i.e.*, The river Khoreh, which is also called Mesrakan. Now, according to Rawlinson,[2] we are told by oriental geographers that the artificial canal on the [illegible] of the river was known as the [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] coast. [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] and the Karun. Finally the river Karun, according to the description of Sir Henry Layard, [illegible] being [illegible] very fast flowing river with some rapids here and there. We [illegible] above the Persian [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] that even a [illegible] [illegible]. Now the river Kuren is mentioned in the Bundehesh as one of a number of fast-flowing rivers. There we read of these rivers —" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible];" i.e. "They run so fast, one from another, as a man saying an Ashem-vohu[1] from a long time."[2] Thus we find that the river Karun is the river Kuren of the Pahlavi Bundehesh of the Parsees.

---

[1] Westergaard, p. 52. West Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 5, Chapter 20,

[2] Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 9, p. 74.

The next question which arises is as to how is this river Karun or Khareh mentioned in the still older books of the Avesta. The river Karun or Kuren is not [illegible] [illegible] with any river in the Avesta. Therefore what I say here on the subject, is more as a question for further consideration than a matter of certainty.

To Professor Geiger is due the credit of first drawing the attention of the Avesta students to the 67th para. of the Zamyad Yasht, wherein several words were taken as mere adjectives and so translated. He pointed out that they were proper nouns, and names of rivers which flowed from the Ushidhão mountain. The names of the rivers pointed out therein are Khvãstra, Hvaspa, Fradatha, Khvarenanguhaiti, Ushtavaiti, Urvadha, Erezi, and Zarenumaiti.

Now Professor Aurel Stein, the learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, in the *Academy* of 16th May, 1885, writing an article on "Afghanistan in Avestic Geography," tries to identify some of these rivers with the rivers near Seistan. Professor Stein identifies three of these eight rivers with three rivers in Afghanistan, and then tries to identify the mountain of Ushidhão, from which they are said to rise in the Zamiad Yasht, with the Koh-i-Baba of Afghanistan. But I think the safest and surest way is first to identify the mountain and then to identify the rivers which flow from it. I am disposed to place the Ushidao mountain in the west near Âzarbaizân, because the mountain, on the top of which the prophet Zoroaster is said to have taken his inspirations, should be a mountain nearer his home and not in the remote east. As I have said in my essay on "Avestic Geography," we are not in a position to point out exactly the situation of Mount Ushidâo, but it appears, that it was a name given to a very long range in the west. So I look also to the west for the identification of these eight rivers which rise from this Mount Ushidâo. I think that three of these rivers—the very three which Professor Stein has tried to identify with the three rivers of Afghanistan—can be identified with the rivers in that part of Persia of which we are speaking. For example, the Fradatha is the Frât of the Pehlvi Bundehesh and of the Pâzand Âfrin, and the modern Euphrates, which is still spoken of by Mahomedan geographers and writers as the Farah. The Hvaspa of the above passage is the Choaspes of the Greek writers and the modern Cherkheh.

---

[1] Ashem-vohu is a sacred prayer enjoined to be repeated on certain occasions. As Dr. West says, it is like the Pater Noster of some Christians. It may be thus translated :—" Piety is the best good and happiness. Happiness to him who is pious for the best piety."

[2] It may also mean from beginning to end.

Now the Kharennghaiti of this passage is, I think, the Khôreh of the Bundehesh, and therefore the modern Karun. We know that the Pahlavi word for the Avestic *kharenang*, meaning "glory or splendour," is Khur or Khoreh. So Pahlavi Khoreh will be a proper rendering of the Avestic Kharenanghaiti. Again I suggest that the place "Correng," mentioned by Sir Macdonald Kinneir in his Memoir of Ancient Persia, as the place, where the Karun river rises has someting to do with the ancient Avestic name Kharenanghaiti. I simply throw this suggestion as a matter for further consideration. I do not say this with great certainty, especially as Kinneir does not give the name in the Persian characters to enable us to compare the words. Again I think that Eulæus, the Greek name of the river Karun, is another form of the Pehlvi Khoreh. The first part (kho) of the word Khoreh can be read as "hu," the Greek rendering of which is "eu." The "r" is frequently changeable into "l", these being letters of the same class, and the final "s" in Eulæus is frequently found in the Greek rendering of the Avestic names (as Hystaspes for Vistaçpa). Again I think that the modern name Karun is a changed form of the Avestic Kharenang and Pahlavi Khoreh. The "Kh" of the Avesta is softened into "k," and the "n" in the end is the "nangh" of the Avesta. So all the three words—the Avestic "Kharenangh," the Pahlavi "Khoreb," and the modern "Karun" seem to be well nigh the same and carry the meaning of "splendour and beauty." In this connection we must bear in mind that in the Avesta, the river is spoken of as "Kharenanghaiti yâ Srira," *i.e.*, "the beautiful Kharenanghaiti." Many modern travellers speak of the river Karun as a noble river. Thus, I think, that the river Kharenanghaiti of the Avesta, the Khoreh of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, the Karun of the modern times, the Eulæus of the Greeks, and the Ulia of the Old Testament are one and the same river. It appears that among the Greeks, the part of the river above its junction with the river of Dizful at Band-i-Kir was known as the Eulæus, but the part below this point was called the Pasi Tigris.

In Mahomedan times, the river is known by different names by different writers. It was called the river of Shuster because it passes by that town. Firdousi does not give any name of this river, but only speaks of it as the river passing by Shuster. It was also known as the Dajeile Masrukan, because at one time—perhaps at the time of the building of its dyke near Shuster—the whole of the river must have run into the artificial canal Ab-i-Gargar, which was called the Nahri-Masrukan. We learn from the Bundehesh that it was so called in the Pahlavi times. The original channel of the river was also known as the Nahr-i-Tuster or Dajeile-i-Tuster. In the description of the march of Taimur by the ancient historians the original stream is called Chahar Dangah, *i.e.*, four parts, while its canal, the Ab-i-Gargar, is called Du Dangah, *i.e.*, two parts, because it was believed that four-sixths of the whole water of the river ran into the original bed and two-sixths into the artificial channel of the Ab-i-Gargar. It is during the last two centuries that it is generally known by its present name of Karun. The particular part of the river between the dyke near Shuster and that at the mouth of the Ab-i-Gargar canal is called Nahr-i-Mahaparyan, corrupted into Mafarian (perhaps meaning the large part [*pareh*]). This particular part is also called the Shadarwan, *i. e.*, the carpet of the Shah, so called perhaps because King Shapoor had paved this part with large pieces of stone in order to prevent its being dug out deep by the force of the water. The dyke or the *band* near Shuster is called the Band-i-Kaisar, and the bridge over it the Pul-i-Kaisar. They bear these names to commemorate the victory of Shah Shapoor over the Kaisar of Rome (Emperor Valerian), from the money got from whom as the price of peace, according to Firdousi, the waterworks near Shuster were built. The "band" is also called the Band-i-Shahzadeh, *i. e.*, the Prince's Band, from the fact of its being partially repaired by Prince Mahomed Ali Mirza. The dyke at the month of the canal Ab-i-Gargar is called Band-i-Mizân, *i. e.*, the Band of Balance, because its level is equal to that of the Band-i Kaisar.

"The Game of Ball-Bat (Chowgan-gui) among the Ancient Persians, as described in the Epic of Firdousi."

(*Read 26th September* 1890. *Dr. Atmaram Pandurang in the Chair.*)

The modern Parsees of India have made cricket, the national game of their esteemed rulers, their own. But it appears from the Shâhnâmeh of Firdousi, the great epic poet of Persia, that a game of ball-bat, though not like that of cricket, was known to their ancestors, the ancient Persians. The game was played with great enthusiasm, not only in the later Sassanian period, but also in the earlier times of the Kaiânian dynasty. The young and the old, the rich and the poor, played it as a means of healthy exercise and recreation. Even friendly international matches were arranged under the captainship of the leading men of the rival races. They were played with an accompaniment of music just as we see at the present day. The result of the matches was looked to, with great eagerness and anxiety.

Firdousi calls this game Chowgân-gui. *Chowgân* means a bat, as well as the ground on which the game is played. *Gui* means a ball. The game was played on foot as well as on horseback. Young children generally played it on foot. It is said of the Duke of Wellington, that he used to say that he won his Waterloo on the cricket ground, meaning thereby, that the precision and the discipline under which he played the game, were of great use to determine his future character as a great commander. The following historical anecdote from the Shâhnâmeh illustrates how this game of Chowgân-gui was made use of, to know the character of a child and determine the nobility of its birth. This is one of the four references that I have been able to collect from the Shâhnâmeh on the subject of this game.

Ardeshir Bâbegân, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty of Persia, having defeated Ardwân (Artabanes), the last monarch of the Parthian dynasty, on the classical field of Râm Hormuz, on the banks of the river Kârun, ascended the throne of Persia, and took a daughter of the deposed sovereign in marriage. She, instigated by her eldest brother, Bahman, who was then in India tried to poison her husband, Ardeshir, with a view to bring about the restoration of the Parthian dynasty to the throne of Iran. Her wicked attempt was discovered by Ardeshir, who ordered one of his ministers to put her to death. The minister, while taking away the queen from the court of the king to put his royal master's order into execution, found that she was *enceinte*. With a view to bring about a reconciliation in future, and to secure an heir to the throne in case the king had no other issue thereafter, the minister protected the queen in his palace. In order to guard against the suspicions of the king in future against himself, as a likely father of the child, that may be born, he got himself castrated. He put the castrated parts in a box, and though pale and weak through the effects of the operation, went in a litter to the king, and requested him to let the box be kept in his treasury until the time he called for it. At the proper time, the queen was delivered of a male child, whom the minister named Shâpur, *i.e.*, the son of the king (*Shah*). This was the Shapur who defeated the Roman Emperor Valerian at the battle of Edessa.

Time rolled on, when, seven years after this event, the minister one day found the king very gloomy. On enquiry he found that the thought of being heirless made the king sad. The king said to him, "A father without a son is like a son without the father. Never will a stranger press him to his heart." The minister took hold of that golden opportunity and divulged the secret to the king. He sent for the box from the treasury of the king, showed him its contents, and said, that he had done so, to be above suspicion as a likely father of the child. The king, in order to further satisfy himself about the legitimacy of the child, ordered the boy to be brought to him in the company of one hundred children of the same age and countenance, and to be made to play the game of Chowgân-gui before him, so that he might determine, by his own paternal affection, which out of the hundred children was his prince. In the words of Firdousi (Mohl V., p. 342) he said :—

کنون صد پسر گیر همسال او ∴ ببالا و چهر و بر و یال او
همان جامه پوشیده با او بهم ∴ نباید که چیزی بود بیش و کم
همه کودکانرا بچوگان فرست ∴ بیارای گوی و بمیدان فرست
چو یکدشت کودک بود خوبچهر ∴ بپیچد ز فرزند جانم بمهر
برآن راستی دل گوائی دهد ∴ مرا با پسر آشنائی دهد

"Now find out a hundred children of the same age, who resemble him in stature, appearance, form, and size, and are dressed like him without the slightest difference. Send all these children to the field, get a ball, and send them to the *maidân*. When all the beautiful children will be on the plain, my soul will be moved by my affection for my child. My own heart will give evidence of the truth of thy words, and will recognize my child."

The minister followed the instructions of his master, and the king recognized his child out of the hundred children. To make matters more certain, he asked one of his attendants to go in the midst of the children and throw the ball towards him. He said (Mohl V., p. 342):—

از آن کودکان آن که آید دلیر ∴ میان سواران بکردار شیر
ز دیدار من گوی بیرون برد ∴ از آن انجمن کس بکس نشمرد
بود بیگمان پاک فرزند من ∴ ز تخم و بر و یال و پیوند من

"Whoever, out of these children, advances bravely in the midst of the brave like a lion, and carries away the ball from my presence, without respect for anybody in the assembly, he undoubtedly must be my real child, of my own blood, body, and family."

The attendant went among the children and threw the ball towards the king. All the children ran after the ball, but when they saw, that it was very close to his Majesty, they dared not go before him. But Shâpur ran after it and threw it back among the children. This convinced Ardeshir, that Shapur was a royal prince, and was therefore not at all afraid to go before his royal father.

Mirkhond[1] differs a little from the version of Firdousi. According to this historian, the ball went close to the king in the usual course of the play, and was not thrown by an attendant. Again, according to the version of Shâhzâdeh Jalâl Kâjar,[2] when the ball happened to be thrown towards the king, he picked it up and threw it into his palace through an adjoining window. No boy dared to go into the royal palace to fetch it, but Shapur went in as one would go into his own house.

An earlier reference to this game is found in the reign of king Lohrâsp. Gushtâsp, the eldest son of this monarch, through the intelligence displayed by him in this game of Chowgân-gui, and in other athletic sports, won the good favour of the Kaisar of Roum. Gushtâsp, having quarrelled with his father, left his Persian court and went under an assumed name to the country of the Kaisar of Roum.

---

[1] Mémoires sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy (1793), p. 285.

[2] Námeh Khusruân, Persian text of 1298 Hijri, p. 222.

The Kaisar had a very beautiful marriageable daughter, whom he asked to choose her husband from a large assembly of the *élite* of his city. The daughter, Kaitâbun by name, found none in that assembly to meet her wishes. Thereupon the Kaisar called an assembly of the middle class of men in his city. Kaitâbun chose Gushtâsp from the large assembly, having previously seen his features in a dream. The Kaisar did not like the choice, but as he had given his promise to Kaitâbun to let her choose her husband, he could not honourably withdraw it. He permitted the marriage, but asked Kaitâbun to leave the royal palace with her husband. A short time after, when some public sports were held, Gushtâsp went and showed such manliness and intelligence in the sports, and among them, in the game of ball-bat, that the Kaisar was struck with his valour and received him and his daughter into his favour again. It appears from Firdousi that this game was played on horseback. He says (Mohl IV., p. 330):—

بفرمود تا بر نهادند زین ∴ براسپي كه اندر نوردد زمين
بیامد بمیدان قیصر رسید ∴ همي بود تا زخم چوگان بدید
ازیشان یکی گوی و چوگان بخواست ∴ میان سواران براند اخت راست
بر انگیخت آن بارگی را زجای ∴ یلانرا همه سست شد دست و پای
بمیدان یکی تیر گویش ندید ∴ شد از زخم او در جهان ناپدید
سواری کجا گوی او یافتی ∴ اگرچه همي تیز بشتافتی

"He ordered to place a saddle upon his horse which enrolled the earth under his feet. He marched to the *maidân* of the Kaisar, and went up to the place, where he saw the strokes of the bat. He asked from them a ball and a bat, and threw it (the ball) right in the midst of the riders. He then spurred his horse from its place. The hands and the feet of the heroes (players) stopped short of playing. The ball disappeared so fast under his stroke that nobody in the plain could see it. How can a rider see his ball, however fast he rode?"

This reference to the game, reminds us of the modern polo, which, let it be remembered, has been introduced into India in recent years from Kashmir and Afghanistan, countries which were formerly owned by the ancient Persians.

The third reference to this game is in the reign of Kaikâus, the Kavi Usadhan of the Avesta. His eldest son, Siâvash, was sent by him, against the Turanian king Afrasiab, with whom he entered into a treaty of peace. The Persain king, not approving his conduct, Siâvash delivered the command of his Persian army to a Persian general, and then went over to the country of Afrasiâb and made it his home, rather than draw the anger of his father and submit to the machinations of his step-mother, Soudabeh, who had done her best to bring him into the disfavour of his father. It was in his adopted country, that the Persian prince played a game of "Chowgân-gui" with the Turanian king Afrâsiâb. It is a very interesting match that Firdousi describes. It is an international match between the Irânians and the Turânians. Siâvash, the Persian prince, captains the Irânian team, and Afrâsiâb, the Turânian king, captains the Turânian team. The teams were made up of eight on either side.

According to Firdousi, the Turanian king, having intimated the previous night, his wish to play a game, both parties appeared on the ***maidân*** the next morning, when Afras'âb said (Mohl II. p. 314):—

چنین گفت پس شاه ترکان بدوی .:. که یاران گزینیم در زخم گوی
تو باشي بدان روی وزین روی من .:. بدو نیمه هم زین نشان انجمن

"Let us choose our companions for striking the ball. You place yourself on that side, I will remain here, and this assembly will also divide itself into two parties."

At first Siâvash, who was a guest of the Turânian king, refused to take the opposite side, and to stand as an antagonist to the king. He offered to play on the side of the king. The Turânian king wished him to take the lead of the opposite party, saying, "One day, on the death of the Persian monarch Kâus, as his heir to the throne, you shall be my rival and my antagonist." Then the Turânian king selected his team. It consisted of the most elect of his courtiers,—Gulbad, Karsivaz, Jehan, Poulâd, Pirân, Nestihan, and Humân formed his team. Among these, one was his brother, another his prime minister, and the rest his military commanders. Then the king gave to Siavash, Rouin, Schideh, Anderimân, Arjâsp, and three other Turanians to form his team. Siâvash naturally objected. As the king desired Siâvash to show his ability in the game as the future king of Irân, and therefore as his future antagonist, it was fair that he should have his Irânians as his colleagues. He said (Mohl II. p. 314):—

سیاوش بدو گفت که ای نام جوی .:. ازیشان که یارد شدن پیش گوئی
همه یار شاهند تنها منم .:. نگهدار چوگان یکتا منم
گر ایدون که یاری دهد شهریار .:. بیارم از ایران بمیدان سوار
مرا یار باشند در زخم گوی .:. بدان سان که آئین بود برد و روی

"Oh glorious monarch! Who among these will dare to place himself before the ball? They are all friends of the king, and I am alone. I am the only one to look after the bat. If your Majesty will permit me, I will bring to the *maidân* my team from the Irânians. They will help me in striking the ball according to the rules of both the sides."

Afrâsiâb complied with this reasonable request, and Siâvash chose his own team of eight from amongst the Irânians, and thus the game became an international match between the Irânians and the Turânians.

The playing of music, as then known, was a sign to commence the game. The music, which was like that of our modern fifes and drums, is thus described by Firdousi (Mohl II. p. 316).

خروش تبیره زمیدان بخاست ∴ بر خاک با آسمان گشت راست
از آواز سنج ودم کرّة نای ∴ تو گفتی بجنبید میدان ز جای

"The tambour began to be heard over the *maidân* and the dust raised by the players went up to the sky. With the music of the cymbal and the trumpets, the very *maidân* began, as it were, to dance."

The description, which follows, shows, that, though the game was played on horseback like the modern polo, it differed from it in an important point. The ball was not let to roll on the ground, but was thrown high in the air. The opposite team went running after it on the horse and threw it back in the air in the opposite direction. The ball was thrown back before it reached the ground. The game was something like the modern tennis on a very large scale and on horseback.

Now, to resume the description of the above international match, Afrasiab, the captain of the Turânian team, first set the ball rolling, or, rather we should say, set the ball flying in the air. The Irânian captain Siâvash spurred his horse and returned the blow before the ball touched the ground. He did so with such great force that none of the Turânian team could run after it and return the blow. The result of this first play then was a triumph for the Irânian team.

Then Afrâsiab sent a new ball to Siâvash to commence the second play. Siavash kissed the ball out of respect for the king. He took a fresh horse and the band played again. Siâvash, tossing the ball a little in the air with his hand, gave such a strong blow with his *chowgân* (bat), that the ball disappeared in the distance before any member of the Turânian team could run after it and return the blow. "The ball went up so high," says the poet, "that it appeared to go as it were to the moon." This second play again, then, was a victory for the Irânian team, brought about chiefly by the good play displayed by its captain. The poet does not proceed with any description of any further play between the royal personages, but says, that as the game was intended by the king to test the power and the ability of the Persian prince, he was quite convinced of his ability. Every spectator in the field acknowledged the excellence of the play of Siâvash, and believed he had no equal in the play.

I will quote here the poet himself to describe the play between the two monarchs in his own words (Mohl II. p. 316) :—

سپهدار گوئي زميدان بزد ∴ به ابر اندر آمد چنان چون سزد
سياوش بر انگيخت اسپ نبرد ∴ چوگوى اندر آمد نهشتش بگرد
بزد همچنان چون بميدان رسيد ∴ بدان سان كه از چشم شد ناپديد
بفرمود پس شهريار بلند ∴ كه گوى بنزد سياوش برند
سياوش بدآن گوى برداد بوس ∴ برآمد خروشيدن ناى وكوس
سياوش به اسپ ديگر برنشست ∴ بينداخت اين گوى لختي بدست
پس آنگه بچوگان برو كار كرد ∴ چنان شد كه باماه ديدار كرد
زچوگان او گوي شد ناپديد ∴ توگفتي سپهرش همي بركشيد

"The king threw from the *maidân* a ball high into the air, and it went up to the cloud as it deserved. Siâvash spurred his warlike horse and when the ball came down, he did not allow it to touch the ground. But no sooner did it come down, he gave such a strong blow that it disappeared before the eyes. Then the powerful monarch sent to Siâvash another ball. Siâvash kissed the ball, and there arose the noise of the trumpets and the cymbals. Siâvash rode a fresh horse, threw the ball a little in the air with his hand, and gave a blow so forcibly with the bat, that it appeared to go high up to the moon. The bat made it disappear so high in the air, that you may say, the vault of heaven drew it towards itself."

The royal captains then retired from the field, and took their seats on a throne arranged on one side of the *maidân*. Afrâsiâb then asked the two teams to continue the play. They did so, and in the end the Irânians were victorious.

The next reference to this game of "Chowgân-gui" by Firdousi, is that to the play between Siâvash and Karsivaz, the brother of Afrâsiâb

The passage is important, as it shows that the *chowgán* or bat then used had a *kham*, *i.e.*, a slight hollow like that in the tennis bats. Again, Firdousi's phraseology in describing the play between Siâvash and Afrâsiâb, and that between Siâvash and Karsivaz, is very similar. In one place the poet uses almost the same couplets. Siâvash won the game, and this success, it may be said, cost him his life. His rival, Karsivaz, seeing him victorious in this game and in other manly and military sports, began to entertain from that day, feelings of jealousy towards him. He one day went to his brother, the Turânian king Afrâsiâb, and grossly calumniated Siâvash. This made the Turânian monarch suspicious about the motives of the Irânian prince staying at his court. He suspected him of bringing about an overthrow of his rule, and therefore got him put to death, even against the lamentations of his own daughter Firangiz, whom he had given in marriage to Siâvash.

There are several other less important references to this game in the Shâhnâmeh.

(*a*) Rustam entertains several Irânian officers at a banquet, after releasing Kâus from his prison. Ball-bat is one of the games played at that entertainment (Mohl II. p. 50).

(*b*) Shapur I. had married a daughter of Meherek Noushzâd, an enemy of his father, Ardeshir, without his father's permission. Hormuz was the offspring of this marriage. Ardeshir recognizes this prince in a game of *Chowgân-gui* and comes to know of the marriage (Mohl V. pp. 76,77).

(*c*) Shapur II. is referred to by Firdousi, as playing this game well at the tender age of seven (Mohl V. p. 426).

(*d*) Beharâm Gour (Beharâm V) was placed under the tutelage of Manzar of Arabia. There he learnt this game at the age of 7 under a special tutor (Mohl V. p. 500). Behram Gour took pleasure in this game even in his advanced age (Mohl V. p. 560).

(*e*) The next reference to this game is in the reign of Khosru Parviz. Beharâm Choubin was on the point of being murdered while playing this game by a player Bendui. This reference further shows, that the players had a special dress for this game (Mohl VII. p. 85).

The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Virâf-nâmeh of Ardâi Virâf.

[*Read 26th February 1892. The Hon'ble Sir Raymond West in the Chair.*]

This paper is intended to give a few points of striking resemblance between Dante's account of his visit to the other world, as given in his Divine Comedy, and that of the visit of the Persian Dastur Ardâi Virâf, as given in the Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh.

I.

The circumstances under which Dante wrote his Divine Comedy are well known to many. Therefore, I will not dwell upon them here, but proceed to describe the circumstances under which Ardâi Virâf is said to have made his pilgrimage to the other world.

According to the three introductory chapters of Virâf-nâmeh, after the overthrow of the ancient Irânian monarchy by Alexander the Great, there was a good deal of disorder and scepticism in Irân. This was the result, it is said, of the foolish conduct of Alexander, who burnt the religious literature of the country and put to death many of its spiritual and temporal leaders. Alexander is, therefore, spoken of in the Pahlavi book in question as the "gazaçtê Alexieder," *i. e.*, the cursed Alexander. This state of disorder and scepticism continued, with some short intervals, for a very long time. At last, in order to put an end to this state of affairs, a few religious and god-fearing men met together in the great fire-temple of Âtash Farobâ. They discussed the question very freely, and unanimously came to the conclusion, that they must take some measures to put an end to that state of disorder in matters of religion. They said: "Some one of us must go to, and bring intelligence direct from, Divine Intelligence." They resolved upon calling a general meeting of the people to elect a properly qualified person for the divine mission. The people met and selected, from among themselves, seven men, who, on account of their great piety and on account of the purity of their thoughts, words, and deeds, were best qualified for divine meditation. These seven then selected from among themselves the three best, who again, in their turn, selected from among themselves one by name Ardâi Virâf who belonged to the town of Nishâpur. Virâf, before submitting to this selection of himself, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination was about his election. As in the choice of Mathias, as the last Apostle, he desired to determine by lot the sacred divination. He said: "If you like, draw lots for the (other) Mazdayaçnâns and myself. If the lot falls to me, I shall go with pleasure to that abode of the pious and the wicked, and I will carry faithfully this message and bring a reply truthfully" (Ch. I.). The lots were drawn thrice, and they fell to Virâf. Virâf then retired to a quiet place, washed himself, put on a new clean set of clothes and said his prayers. He then drank three cups of a sacred somniferous drink in token of "Hûmata, Hûkhta, and Hvarshta," *i. e.*, good thoughts, good works, and good deeds. The somniferous drink and the deep and divine meditation soon threw him into an unusually long sleep which lasted for seven days and nights. The place of his retreat was guarded from interference by several pious men. Virâf rose from this meditative sleep at the end of the seventh day, and then described to his anxious hearers his vision of his visit to the other world.

We are not in a position to fix the exact date when Virâf lived, but this much can be said with certainty that he lived at some period between the reign of Shapur II. and the Arab Conquest, *i. e.*, between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the seventh.

From a literary point of view, there can be no comparison between the Divine Comedy and the Virâf-nâmeh. Dante's work is considered to be a masterpiece of Italian poetry. Virâf-nâmeh has no claim to any literary excellence. In the Divine Comedy, it is the heavenly pilgrim himself who records the vision of his imaginary visit to the next world in his best poetic style. The Virâf-nâmeh, though it describes the vision in the words of the pilgrim himself, is the work of somebody else, who narrates in simple prose, what he supposes to be a great event in the religious history of the country.

The arrangement in the description of their respective visions is well nigh the same. Both the pilgrims at first make their own observations on what they see in their heavenly journey. They then put questions to their guides, asking information on what they see, and the guides give an explanation. The questions of Virâf to his guides have, in many cases, assumed a stereotyped form. For example, his question to his guides in his visit of Hell is the same. "Denman tan meman vanâs kard mûn rôbân avin pâdafarâs îdrûnet," *i.e.*, "What sin has this body, whose soul meets with such a punishment, committed?" The questions of Dante are variegated.

The times, when both Virâf and Dante wrote, were times of great disorder in their respective countries of Irân and Italy. It was religious disorder, which followed the change of dynasties, that led to the vision of Virâf. It was political disorder, which had its reflex in the spiritual life of the country, that influenced the strains of the Italian poet. We have referred above, to the religious disorder in Persia at the time when Virâf lived. We will describe here, in the words of Mr. Herbert Baynes, the state of Italy at the time when Dante wrote.

"The Church and the World were at open warfare, so that society was split into at least two factions, the Papal adherents and the Imperialists . . . The chaos of outer relations had its reflex in the spiritual life of those times . . Society had lost its ideals. Righteousness had given place to expediency. Hence the prophet of his age had to sing to eager listeners a message of awful grandeur, of life-long significance. He could not but show them the Hell in which they were living, the Purgatory through which, as he believed, it was possible for them to go, in order that, by repentance, they might reach the Paradise prepared for the redeemed."[1]

II.

Now, coming to the subject proper of our paper, we find that both Virâf and Dante undertook their heavenly pilgrimages after great hesitation, and after great many doubts about their fitness for such a great work. As we saw before, Virâf, before submitting to his selection, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination about his selection was. It was only after determining by lot, that he undertook the divine mission (Ch. I.)[2]. In the case of Dante also, we find a similar expression of doubt about his fitness for the great mission. When Virgil offers to take him to the other world, he says:—

---

[1] *Dante and his Ideal*, by Herbert Baynes (1891), pp. 11-14.

[2] The numbers of the chapters are according to Dr. Hoshangjee and Dr. Haug's text.

> " Test well my courage, see if it avail,
> Ere to that high task I am sent by thee.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> But why should I go? Who will this concede?
> I nor Æneas am, nor yet am Paul;
> Worthy of that nor I myself indeed,
> Nor others deem me. Wherefore, to this call
> If now I yield, I fear me lest it be
> A journey vain.
>
> (*Hell*, C. II., 11—36.)[1]

Both Dante and Virâf make their heavenly pilgrimages, when in the grasp of profound slumber. Virâf's sleep lasted for seven days and nights. Dante does not tell us for how many days did his vision last. He merely says that he was sleep-opprest.

> " How I there entered, can I not well say,
> So sleep-opprest was I in that same hour
> When from the true path thus I went astray."
>
> (*Hell*, C. I., 10—12.)

Both went through all the parts of the other world, but the order of their visits to these parts is a little different. Virâf first went to the Hamistagân, which somewhat corresponds to the Christian Purgatory, and then to Paradise, and lastly to Hell. Dante first went to Hell, then to Purgatory, and lastly to Paradise.

Both had two persons as their guides. Virâf had for his guides, Sraôsh, the messenger of God, and Âtar, the angel presiding over fire. Dante had Virgil and Beatrice for his guides. Sraôsh and Âtar accompanied Virâf through all the three regions, but Virgil accompanied Dante to Hell and Purgatory, and Beatrice to Paradise. The guides of Virâf offer their kind services to him in following words (Ch. V.) : " Come on, we will show you Heaven and Hell, and the light and splendour, rest and comfort, pleasure and cheerfulness, delight and joy, and fragrance that are the reward of the righteous people, received in Heaven. We will show you darkness and distress, misery and misfortune, pain and grief, disease and sickness, terror and fright, torture and stench, that are the punishments of various kinds, which the evil-doers, sorcerers and sinful men undergo in Hell. We will show you the place of the righteous and that of the unrighteous. We will show you the reward of those, who have good faith in God and Archangels, and the good and evil, which are in Heaven and Hell." Compare with this, the words of Dante's guide, Virgil, with which he offers to be the leader of Dante in Hell.

---

[1] I have followed Dr. Plumptre's translation, notes, and commentary in these quotations from Dante.

> "Wherefore for thee I think and judge 'tis well
> That thou should'st follow, I thy leader be,
> And guide thee hence to that eternal cell,
> Where thou shalt hear sharp wails of misery,
> Shalt see the ancient spirits in their pain,
> For which, as being the second death, men cry:
> Those thou shalt see who, in the hope to gain,
> When the hour comes, the blest ones' happier clime
> Can bear the torturing fire not yet complain.
> To these would'st thou with eager footsteps climb,
> A soul shall guide thee worthier far than I."
>
> (*Hell*, C. I., 112—122.)

Both Virâf and Dante find in their guides, persons, who feel offended by their past conduct, and who, before leading them forward in their heavenly journey, taunt them for their past offensive deeds. Âtar, the guide of Virâf, taunts him for neglecting and not taking proper care of fire, over which he (Âtar) presides (Ch X.). Beatrice, the guide of Dante, taunts him for neglecting her and not keeping her memory green. (*Purg.*, C. XXX., 121-140.)

Three steps led Virâf to the top of the Chinvat Bridge[1], where the departed souls part, to go to their respective destinations of Heaven, Hell, and Hamistagân. Three steps led Dante to the portal of the Purgatory. (*Purg.*, C. IX., 93-102; Virâf, Ch. IV.) The three steps which Dante had to pass over, were made of polished marble, rugged stone, and fiery porphyry, which symbolized the three elements of penitence, *viz.*, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The three steps of Virâf were those of "humata, hukhta, and hvarshta," *i. e.*, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.

The guides of Virâf welcomed him, and taking hold of his hand led him on for the three steps. So did the guide of Dante.

---

[1] The Chinvat Bridge of Virâf corresponds to the Sirat of the Mahomedans, the Wogbo of the Chinese, and the Giöfell and Bifröst of the Scandinavians.

" O'er the three steps my Guide then led me on
With all good will." (*Purg.* C. IX., ll. 106-107.)

It is over this Chinvat Bridge, that according to Virâf, Mithra, the judge, holds his court, and judging the actions of the departed souls, sends them to Heaven, Hell or Hamistagân. Dante gives to his judge Minos, a seat in the second circle of Hell. Dante's Minos only judges the souls of wicked persons. This bridge, which leads to the Hamistagân, is situated on the top of a mountain. We find Dante's Purgatory also situated on a mountain. (*Purg.*, C. III., 3, 6, 14.)

According to both the pilgrims, the utmost punishment, that the souls there suffer, are the extremes of temperature, nothing else. The guides of Virâf, speaking to him on this subject, say : " Their punishment is cold and heat (resulting) from the movement of the atmosphere and no other evil" (Ch. VI). The guide of Dante says to him:—

"To suffer freezing cold and torturing blaze
Bodies like this doth Power Supreme ordain,
Which wills to veil from us His work and ways."
(*Purg.*, C. III., 31—33.)

III.

Both go direct from the Purgatory to their first Heaven. The heavens of both Dante and Virâf receive their names from the heavenly bodies, though their numbers differ. Virâf has four heavens. Dante has ten. The heavens of Virâf are Setar-pâyâ (*i.e.*, of the star pathway), Mâhâ-pâyâ (of the moon pathway), Khorshed-pâyâ (of the sun pathway), and Garotmân. Dante has the following ten heavens —the heavens of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile, and the Empyrean.

The last Heaven of Dante is the seat of the Almighty God, just as Garotmân, the last Heaven of Virâf, is the seat of Ahura Mazda. Dante saw the divine presence of God in a brilliant point:—

"I saw a point so radiant appear,
So keenly bright, it needs must be the eye
Should shrink and close before its brightness clear."
(*Parad.*, XXVIII., 16-18.)

Virâf also hears His voice and sees Him in a light. (Ch. CI., 11.)

Both see in Paradise, the departed illustrious men of their respective countries. Dante sees there men like Thomas of Aquinas, Albert of Cologne, and Charles Martel. Virâf sees men like Zoroaster, King Vishtâsp, Frashaôster, and Jâmâsp. Both see in Paradise the first father of man. Dante sees and converses with the soul of Adam. Virâf sees the *farôhar* or the spirit of Gayomard, the Zoroastrian Adam.

Both have the grades of their heavens rising in importance in proportion to the meritoriousness of their acts. Virâf reserves the higher heavens for the good and just rulers of the land, for devout worshippers warriors who fight for a just cause, men who destroy noxious creatures that do great harm to mankind, men who add to the prosperity of their country by irrigation and fresh plantations, and women who are possessed of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds and who are obedient to their husbands. Dante sees in his higher heavens, theologians, martyrs who have met with death while fighting for a good cause, righteous kings, and men who are devoted to pious contemplation.

Both see in Paradise the souls of the pious and the virtuous in brilliant glory. Virâf saw the "Light which is called the highest of the high." "I saw," says he, "the pious on thrones of gold and in gold embroidered clothes. They were men whose brightness was the same as the brightness of the sun" (Ch. IX., 4). Compare with this that which Dante saw in the highest of the highest heavens :-

"Their faces had they all of living flame,
  Their wings of gold, and all the rest was white,
That snow is none such purity could claim."

(*Parad.*, XXXI, 13--15.)

Both are rewarded in Heaven for their sacred pilgrimage. St. Bernard asks for salvation on behalf of Dante from the Blessed Virgin :-

"He who stands here, who, from the lowest pit
  Of all creation, to this point hath pass'd
The lines of spirits, each in order fit,
  On thee for grace of strength himself doth cast,
So that he may his eyes in vision raise
  Upwards to that Salvation noblest. last."

(*Parad.*, C. XXXIII., 22–27.)

Compare with this, the words, in which Viráf is offered immortality by the souls of the departed virtuous, who welcome him to Paradise : "O holy one, how hast thou come from that perishable world of troubles to this imperishable world free from troubles. Taste immortality, for here you will find eternal pleasure." (Ch. X.)

St. Bernard, who had, during the last part of Dante's journey to Paradise, taken the place of Beatrice, takes Dante at the end of his journey to the Blessed Virgin. Sraôsh and Âtar, the guides of Virâf, take him to the seat of the Almighty.

Both have to communicate their heavenly experiences. At the end of his journey, Dante prays for strength and power to communicate to men, what he saw in his heavenly tour :—

> "Oh Light Supreme, that dwellest far away
> From mortal thoughts, grant Thou this soul of mine
> Some scant revival of that great display,
> And to my tongue give Thou such strength divine,
> That of Thy glory at the least one beam
> May to the race to come in beauty shine."
>
> (*Parad.*, XXXIII., 67—72.)

At the end of Viraf's journey, Ahura Mazda asks him to communicate to his countrymen what he saw in the other world. Ahura Mazda says : "O pious Ardâi Virâf, messenger of the Mazdayacnâns! thou art a good servant ; return to the material world. Tell exactly to the world what thou hast seen and learnt. I, Ahura Mazda, am with thee. Say to the wise that I recognize and know everyone who speaks the truth." (Ch. CI.) Then with regard to the particular errand, for which Ardâi Virâf had made his pilgrimage to the next world, he sends the following message through him to his co-religionists: "O Ardâi Virâf! say to the Mazdayacnâns of the other world, that the way of piety is the only way, and that is the way of those of the primitive faith. The other ways are not the proper ways. Follow only that path of piety. Turn not from that path in prosperity or adversity or under any circumstances. Follow good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. Continue in the same religion which Zoroaster has received from me and which Vishtâsp has promulgated in the world. Follow the just law and keep away from the unjust one. Bear this in mind, that the cattle will be reduced to dust, the horses will be reduced to dust, the gold and silver will be reduced to dust, and the body of man will be reduced to dust, but he alone will not be reduced to dust, who praises piety and performs meritorious deeds in this world."

Having spoken of a few points of similarity in the Persian and Italian pilgrims' visions of Heaven, we will now speak of Hell.

IV.

Before entering into Hell, both come across words which give them an idea of the hopelessly miserable condition of the place. Dante reads those words on the gate of Hell; Virâf hears them from his guides, as the utterance of a sinful soul, that has just entered into Hell. The characteristic words of despair which Dante reads are: "Ye that pass in, all hope abandon ye." (*Hell*, C. III., 9.) Those which Virâf hears are: "Val kudâm zamik vazlûnam va-mûn pavan panâh vakhdûnam?" *i.e.*, "To which land shall I go? Whose protection shall I take?"

On entering into Hell, the guides of both the pilgrims hold them by their hands to give them courage and carry them in safety. Virâf says: "Sraôsh and Âtar caught hold of my hand so that I went on without any danger" (Ch. XVIII., 1, 2). Dante says:—

> "Then me, his hand firm clasped in mine, he brought,
> With joyful face that gave me comfort great."
>
> (*Hell*, C. III., 19.)

Both find their hells in the form of an abyss immeasurably deep. Virâf found it like a "pit whose bottom would not be reached by 1,000 cubits. And even if all the wood in the world were put on fire in the most stinking and darkest Hell, it would not give out any smell. And although the souls of the sinful there, are as close to one another as the ear is to the eye, and although they are as many in number as the hair on the mane of a horse, they do not see, nor hear the sound from one another. Everyone thinks that he is alone." (Ch. LIV., 3—8.) Dante describes the depth of his Hell in a similar tone:—

> "And with mine eyes thus rested, I to see
> Turned me, stood up, and steadfast gazed around,
> To know the region where I chanced to be.
> In very deed upon the brink I found
> Myself, of that abyss of direst woe,
> Where thunders roar, of groans that know no bound
> Dark was it, deep, o'erclouded so below,
> That though I sought its depths to penetrate,
> Nought to mine eyes its form did clearly show."
>
> (*Hell*, C. IV., 4—12.)

Both have to cross a river, and that a large river, before they go further into Hell. The river of Virâf was formed by the great number of tears shed after the death of a person. The guides ask Virâf to advise the people of the world, not to lament too much for the death of a departed soul, but to submit to it patiently, as to a command from God. Mark again, that the river spoken of by Dante is Acheron, and it is also, as Dr. Plumptre says, "the stream of lamentations" (Vol. I., p. 16n, 71).

Both find a number of souls waiting on the other side of the river. Virâf says: "I saw a large river as dark as the gloomy Hell. There were many souls and spirits on that river."

Both ask their guides as to what those rivers are, and what the souls waiting on their shores. Virâf asked: "What is this river, and who are these people that are waiting in a distressed mood?" (Ch. XVI.). This was what Virâf saw and said before he entered into the portals of Hell. Compare with this, what Dante saw before he entered into the first circle of Hell:—

"And when I further looked on that drear seat,
  On a great river's bank a troop I saw,
Wherefore I said, "O Master, I entreat
  That I may know who these are, what the law
Which makes them seem so eager to pass o'er;
  As through the dim light they my notice draw."

(*Hell*, C. III., 70—75.)

Dante's guide replies:—

"My son, ...

Those who beneath the wrath of God have died,
  From all lands gather to region dark,
And eager are to pass across the tide."

(*Hell*, C. III., 121—124.)

Both divide their hells in a number of parts, and both see, the last of all, in the deepest Hell, Satan, the author of Evil. Dante sees Lucifer in Guidecca, the last of the four concentric circles of the tenth circle. Virâf sees Ganâk-Mino in the last of the different parts of Hell.

On entering into the place of the wicked ones, Virâf found a cold wind blowing. A more striking wind than that he had never seen in the world. Compare with this what Dante says of the cold in that part of Hell, where he saw Lucifer:

> "How icy cold I then became and numb,
>   Ask it not, Reader, for I cannot write;
> All language would be weak that dread to sum."
>
> (*Hell*, C. XXXIV., 22—25.)

When Virâf goes near Satan, he hears him taunting the sinful souls that had fallen victims to his evil machinations, in the following words:—"Why were you eating the food supplied to you by God and doing my work? You did not think of your Creator, but acted according to my dictates.' Dante sees Lucifer punish Judas, Brutus, and Cassius, who, following his evil temptations, had turned out great traitors.

Though most of the punishments in the hell of Virâf are Persian in their character, and those in the hell of Dante are retributive, according to the notions of the mediæval theology of Europe, there are a few, that are common in the visions of both. For example, serpents play a prominent part in the punishments of both. The seventh Bolgia in the hell of Dante, where robbers are punished, is the Bolgia of serpents. According to Virâf, unnatural lust, oppressive and tyrannical misrule, adultery, misappropriation of religious property and endowments, and falsehood are visited with punishments by the sting of dreaded and terrible snakes.

Again, the eating of human skulls and brains is a punishment common to the hells of both the pilgrims. According to Virâf, fraudulent traders who used false measures and weights were made to eat human brains and blood (Ch. LXXX.). So were men, who had got rich by dishonest means and by stealing the property of others, punished in Hell by being made to eat human skulls and brains (Ch. XLVI.). An unjust judge, who gave his decisions under the influence of bribes, is made to slay in Hell his own children and eat their brains (Ch. XCI.). In Dante, we find a victim punish his offender by eating his head and brains. We find that Count Ugolino, who was put into prison on the strength of false accusations of Archbishop Ruggieri, and was there compelled by the pangs of starvation to eat the flesh of his own children, punishes his calumniator Ruggieri in Hell by eating his head and brains (Hell, XXXIII.).

The seizing and tearing and flaying of the souls of the sinful by ferocious animals is also a common punishment in the hells of Virâf and Dante. It is the fierce Cerberus, that does all this in the hell of Dante (Hell C. VI., 12—18.). It is the Kharfastars (*i. e.*, the noxious animals), the smaller ones of which are as high as mountains, that do all this and annoy the souls of the sinful in the hell of Virâf (Ch. XVIII.).

The suspending of sinful persons with their heads downwards is another punishment common to both (Hell, C. XIX., 22 ; XXXIV., 14; Virâf, Ch. LXIX., LXXIV., LXXIX., LXXX., LXXXVIII.). In Virâf's vision, it is the dishonest judges and traders and seducers that suffer this punishment. In the vision of Dante, it is the Simonists that suffer it.

Another punishment, common to the visions of both, is that of covering the bodies of sinners with heavy metals. According to Virâf, a faithless wife meets the punishment of having her body covered over with heavy iron (Ch. LXXXV.). According to Dante, a heavy mantle of lead is the punishment that a hypocrite meets with in the sixth part of the eighth circle of hell.

The twisting of the different parts of the body is another punishment common to the hells of both. In the eighth circle of Dante's hell, it is the soothsayers that meet with this punishment. In Virâf's hell, it is the cruel masters, who exact too much work from their beasts of burden without giving them adequate food, that meet with this punishment (Ch. LXXVII.).

Again, heavy rain and snow, hail stones, severe cold, and foul smells are punishments common to the hell of both the pilgrims. According to Dante, it is a glutton who meets with the punishment of being pelted with rain (C. VI., 53, 54.). According to Virâf, those who demolish bridges over rivers, those who are irreverent, those who speak an untruth and perjure themselves, and those who are greedy, avaricious, lusty, and jealous, meet with these punishments (Ch. LV.).

Virâf gives a general picture of Hell in the following words (Ch. XVIII.):—

"I felt cold and heat, dryness and stench to such an extent as I never saw in the world nor heard of. When I proceeded further, I saw the voracious abyss of Hell, like a dangerous pit leading to a very narrow and horrible place, so dark that one must hold (another) by the hand, and so full of stench that anybody, who inhales the air by the nose, struggles, trembles, and falls . . . The noxious creatures tear and seize and annoy the souls of the wicked in the Hell, in a way, that would be unworthy of a dog."

Compare with this, Dante's description of the third circle of hell (C. VI., 8—15):—

> "——eterne, curst, cold, and working woe,
> Its law and state unchanged from first to last;
> Huge hail, dark water, whirling clouds of snow
> There through the murky air come sweeping on;
> Foul smells the earth which drink this in below,
> And Cerberus, fierce beast, like whom is none,
> Barks like a dog from out his triple jaws
> At all the tribe those waters close upon."

Adultery, cheating, misrule, slander, avarice, lying, apostasy, fraud, seduction, pederasty, sorcery, murder, theft, rebellion, and such other moral sins are seen by both the pilgrims as punished in Hell.

V.

Now, the question remains, what is the origin of these two visions? Though the date of Virâf is older than that of Dante, the visions of both seem to come directly from different parents. Though there are many points of resemblance between the two, yet the vision of Virâf is thoroughly Zoroastrian, and that of Dante thoroughly Christian. Their different parents may have a common ancestor, of whom little is known, but there seems to be no direct relation between the two. It is not our province to speak here on the source or sources, from which Dante directly drew his visions. As to the visions of Virâf, though a great part of the details is original, the main features about the destiny of the soul in the other world have their origin in the *Avesta.* The fifth and the seventeenth chapters of the *Virâf-nâmeh* are, as it were, a clear and amplified version of a portion of the nineteenth chapter of the *Vendidad.* These chapters are based on the very doctrine of the future destiny of the soul after death, as believed by the ancient Zoroastrians.

The visions of Virâf were made known to the European world of letters by the English translation[1] of Mr. J. A. Pope in 1818. This was an imperfect translation, not of our Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh, but of a Persian version of it which was to a certain extent mutilated by some foreign elements. This imperfect translation of the Persian mutilated version led some to believe that the visions of Virâf were derived from the Christian source of Isaiah's Ascent. But the late Dr. Haug, who was the first to write upon this subject, and whose learned presence in our midst as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College had greatly helped and encouraged Iranian studies, has clearly shown that this was not the case. M. Barthélemy, in his excellent translation (Livre d'Ardâ Vîrâf, Introduction, p. XXVII), wherein he has dwelt upon some of these striking points of resemblance, agrees with Dr. Haug and says : "Rien ne justifie les tentative faites pour montrer que les visions de l'Arda Viraf dérivent de celles contenues dans l'Ascension du prophète Isaïe, car elles n'ont entre elles aucune relation historique."

---

[1] Mr. Geo. Maddox of Madras has published in 1904 "a rendering in prose-verse" of this translation under the title of The Ardai Viraf Nameh, or the Revelations of Ardai Viraf.

The So-called Pahlavi Origin of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, or, The Story of the Seven Wise Masters.

[*Read* 28*th June* 1892. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang in the Chair.*]

Like the story of Kalila and Damna, known in *Europe* as the "Fables of Bidpâi," the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, known in Europe as the "Story of the Seven Wise Masters," has gone through several versions, both in the East and in the West. Mr. W. A. Clouston, in the *Athenæum* of 12th September 1891 (p. [illegible]), says that all these different versions have a common origin, and that they also, like the story of Kalila and Damna, come from the Pahlavi, through an Arabic version now lost.

Mr. Clouston has given an epitome of the story of Sindibâd in his *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Vol. I. (1887), Introduction, p. [illegible]). Professor Forbes Falconer has published an "Analytical Account of the Sindibâd-nâmeh" in Vols. XXXV (pp. [illegible]) and XXXVI (pp. 4-18, 99-1[illegible]), (new series) of the *Asiatic Journal* (1841). We find the story reproduced by the pen of Mr. A. Rogers in the January number of this year of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (pp. [illegible]). Mr. Clouston has also published a separate book on the subject of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, which, being privately printed, is not available.

The object of this paper is to show, that, if, as Mr. Clouston says, Pahlavi is the origin of this wide-spread story of "The King, the Damsel, and the Prince," it is the old Iranian story of Kaus, Soudâbeh, and Siâvash, that has given rise to it. In the Pahlavi literature now extant, we find no story of the kind, but we find a trace of it in the Shah-nâmeh of Firdousi, who, let it be remembered, has collected, as he himself says in the preface of his great epic, the materials of his poem from a Pahlavi work.[1]

Before giving Firdousi's version of the story, I will give here for comparison the Sindibâd-nâmeh story as given by Mr. A. Rogers. (The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1892, New Series, Vol. III., pp. 162-163) :—

"An Indian King, by name Gârdis, was for a long time childless, but by dint of fasting and prayer, at length obtained a son, who was destined, according to the horoscope cast at his birth, to pass through a great misfortune and become famous in his age. Great care was taken with the young prince's education, but for some years to no purpose, until he was placed by the king, on the advice of his seven *Vazirs* or Ministers, in the charge of a learned man of the name of Sindbâd. Under this person's tuition, the prince in six months became a model of learning and wisdom, and was about to be presented to his father under this more favourable aspect, when the time for undergoing the calamity, predicted at his birth, arrived. He was warned by his preceptor accordingly, that, in order to counteract the evil fate that was lying in wait for him, he must be silent for seven days, whatever the king might say or do to him . . . . One of the king's wives, who had fallen in love with the prince, begs the king's permission to take his son into the private apartments, on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his remaining silent. Leave is given, and she takes the opportunity to declare her passion to the prince, and offers to raise him to the throne by poisoning his father. The offer being indignantly refused, the woman, afraid of the possible consequences when the prince was allowed to speak again, determines to be beforehand with him, and rushing into the king's presence, accuses the prince of making improper proposals to her and threatening his father's life. Shocked at the revelation, which he fully believes, the king sends for the executioner and orders the prince's execution . . . . The king's *Vazirs*, hearing of the king's order, hold a consultation, and determine to prevent its being carried out by one of their number going to their master on each of the seven days for which silence has been imposed on the prince, until the latter may be at liberty to defend himself, and relating tales to the king to expose the deceitfulness and vices of women. Then commences the struggle between the *Vazirs* and the desperate woman, the king on each day putting off the prince's execution in consequence of the impression made on his mind by the *Vazirs*' stories, and the next day reiterating his order for his son's death on the tears and entreaties of his treacherous wife. The former, however, manage to tide over the seven days of silence; and finally the prince, allowed to speak for himself, turns the tables on his wicked step-mother, and turns out a model of wisdom and excellence."

---

[1] بشهرم یکی مهربان دوست بود ∴ تو گفتی که با من یکی پوست بود
مرا گفت خوب آمد این رای تو ∴ به نیکی گراید همی پای تو
نبشته من این نامهٔ پهلوی ∴ به پیش تو آرم مگر نغنوی
گشاده زبان و جوانیت هست ∴ سخن گفتن پهلوانیت هست
تو این نامهٔ خسروان باز گوی ∴ بدین جوی نزد مهان آبروی
چو آورد این نامه نزدیک من ∴ برافروخت این جان تاریک من

Vuller, I., p. 10, lines 164-169. (Mohl, I., p. 20, lines 164-169).

Now the episode in Firdousi's Shâh-nâmeh, to which I think this story of Sindibâd is similar in its main features, though not in some of its details, which, I think, are added and worked out in the subsequent versions, runs as follows :—

Kâus, the king of Irân, had a prince by name Siâvash, who was as beautiful as a fairy. He thanked God very much for the birth of this son, but those who calculated the movements of the heavens found that the stars were hostile to this infant. They revealed this to the king and advised him on the matter. Rustam, who was a general of the king, took the prince under his protection and instruction. He took the prince to Zaboulistân, and brought him up in a manly way as befitted a king's son. He taught him the arts of war and chase, and the ways of ruling justly. He taught him all the virtues, and in short made him one who had none as his equal in the world. Then, at the special desire of the prince, Rustam took him to the royal court, where he was enthusiastically received by king Kâus and his courtiers. The festivities in honour of the prince continued for seven days. The prince thus lived in ease at the court of his royal father for seven years, during which period Soudâbeh, the step-mother of the prince, fell in love with him, and, under the pretence of affection for the boy as a mother and of a desire to entertain him and to give him presents, requested the king to send Siâvash to the apartments of women. At the desire of the king, Siâvash paid three visits to the ladies' apartments. The queen made improper proposals to him, and he left her rooms indignantly. Soudâbeh being afraid of the consequences, if the prince complained of her conduct, tore off her clothes and raised an alarm. Kâus went to her apartments, where she complained of Siâvash having tried to commit violence upon her. The king said to himself: "If all this is true I will cut off the head of Siâvash." He then sent for Siâvash, who stated all the facts. The queen accused him of falsehood, and said that he had gone to such an extent of violence, that *enciente* as she was, she expected a miscarriage. The king found that Soudâbeh had all kinds of strong perfumes and scents over her clothes and body. Then calling Siâvash by his side he did not find over his body any trace of those scents and perfumes, which, he said, would have been found over his body had he committed any violence upon the body of Soudâbeh as alleged. Thus he found the prince innocent. Soudâbeh then tried other means to move the feelings of king Kâus in her favour and against the prince. She, by means of some drugs, made a maid-servant who was *enciente* miscarry. The maid gave birth to two still-born infants. Soudâbeh then pretended that it was she herself who had given birth to the still-born infants, and raised a cry of grief and sorrow. The king ran to her apartments, and she reminded him of her former complaint, *viz.*, that she expected a miscarriage from the violence of Siâvash. This made the king again suspicious about the conduct of Siâvash. He called the sages, who knew the stars, before him, and asked them to find out the secret. They consulted the stars for seven consecutive nights and traced out the truth. The woman, who was the real mother of the still-born infants, was arrested, but she denied any knowledge of the matter. The king called Soudâbeh in the presence of the sages. She accused them of being partial to the prince, who was supposed to be very powerful. She then wept and cried bitterly. This affected the heart of the king, and he again became suspicious about the whole affair. He then called an assembly of the Mobeds of his court, and submitted the whole matter before them for advice. They advised the king to try the case by the ordeal of fire. Soudâbeh, the queen, being asked to go through the ordeal, said, that she had showed her innocence by presenting before the king the two infants, that were born dead through the miscarriage caused by the violence of Siâvash, and that, therefore, it was the duty of the latter to prove his innocence by going through the ordeal. Siâvash went through it unhurt and proved his innocence. The king, thereupon, condemned the queen to death and sentenced her to be hanged. But then Siâvash interfered on her behalf and persuaded the king to forgive her.

This then is the story of the Shâh-nâmeh which resembles that of the Sindibâd-nâmeh. We will here enumerate the points of striking resemblance between these two stories:—

1. The son of the Indian King Gârdis was destined, according to his horoscope, to pass a life of misfortune. So was Siâvash, the son of the Irânian King Kâus, destined, according to the astrologers, to pass a life of misery.

2. As the Indian prince was entrusted to Sindibâd to be trained and educated, so was the Irânian prince Siâvash entrusted to Rustam.

3. The Indian queen, who had fallen in love with the young prince, asked the king to send him to her apartments on the pretence, that she might extort from him the secret of his observing silence. According to the Shâh-nâmeh, the Irânian queen Soudâbeh asked Kâus to send Siâvash to the private apartments of women on the pretence of entertaining him and presenting him with gifts, and of making him choose a partner for his life.

4. The Indian king grants permission to the queen to take the prince into the ladies' apartments. There the queen reveals her love to the prince, and offers, if he returned her love, to raise him to the

throne by poisoning the king. The Irânian king, according to the Shâh-nâmeh, also grants permission to Soudâbeh to take Siâvash to the ladies' apartment where she reveals her love to him, and promises, if he returned her love, to give him crowns and thrones, and threatens, in case he did not return her love, to deprive him of the throne and to ruin him.

5. On the Indian prince refusing the offer with indignation, the queen raises an alarm and accuses the prince before the king of improper offers. We find the same in the case of the Irânian prince.

6. The seven *Vazirs* of the Indian king intercede on behalf of the prince for seven consecutive nights and persuade the king to postpone the execution of the prince. According to the Shâh-nâmeh we have no seven *Vazirs*, but we find a number of sages who know the stars. They consult the stars for seven consecutive nights to find out the truth about the miscarriage complained of by Soudâbeh as the result of the attempted violence of Siâvash. The number seven plays a prominent part in the story of Siâvash in the Shâh-nâmeh. Siâvash on his return from Rustam after completing his education was entertained by the king for seven days. It was for seven years that Kâus tried the ability of Siâvash before putting him at the head of the province of Mawaralnahar (The Transoxania). Again it was for seven years that Soudâbeh entertained love for Siâvash before revealing it to him.

7. The last time that the Indian queen comes before the king to defend herself, she accuses the *Vazirs* of being in league with the prince and of saying falsehoods. So does the Persian queen accuse the sages, who met for seven consecutive nights, of being afraid of Siâvash and of saying what was not true.

8. According to one account of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, the Indian queen, who, in the end, was found guilty, was pardoned by the king at the intercession of the prince. So was the Persian queen, who was condemned to death by the king, pardoned at the request of the Persian prince.

Now there is one great difference between the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeh and that of the Shâh-nâmeh. It is this, that we do not find in the Shâh-nâmeh any allusion to the stories told to the king each successive night by one of the seven *Vazirs*. But in place of that, we merely find that the sages met together for seven nights. According to the Sindibâd-nâmeh story, it is the alternative stories of the *Vazirs* and the queen that allay and excite the feelings of the Indian king. According to the Shâh-nâmeh story, it is the tricks of the queen and their exposures that alternately excite and allay the suspicions of the Persian king. At first she tears off her clothes and raises an alarm to excite the king's suspicions, which are soon removed, when he finds no trace, on the body of Siâvash, of the strong perfumes with which she had covered her body. Then Soudâbeh resorts to the trick of a pretended miscarriage, which again makes the king a little suspicious. The sages after their seven nights' consultation soon expose the mischievous plot. Soudâbeh, in her turn, again weeps bitterly, and accuses the sages of being afraid of, and partial to, the prince. This moves the king again a little in her favour. He calls a council of his *Mobads* to discover the whole truth. They advise an ordeal by fire. Now these steps and countersteps, taken by the queen on one hand, and the sages and *Mobads* on the other, as described in the Shâh-nâmeh, are replaced by the stories of the seven *Vazirs* in the Sindibâd-nâmeh.

Now, I think, that this narration of stories by the seven *Vazirs* and the queen is a foreign element added to the Pahlavi story by the Arabs who were very fond of spinning out a long story in the form of petty stories narrated every night, as we see in the case of the well-known Arabian Nights. I think I am borne out in this view by the very fact—and that an important fact—that, as pointed out by Mr. Clouston, the stories of the seven *Vazirs* and the queen vary greatly in the different versions—Syriac, Greek, and Persian—of the Sindibâd-nâmeh. The main features in the story remain the same in all the different versions of the Sindibâd-nâmeh as in the original Persian story, but in the stories of the *Vazirs* and the queen, which I consider to be the foreign element added by the Arabs, as was their wont, we find a great difference in the different versions of the Sindibâd-nâmeh.

Thus, it appears to me, that if the source of the story of "The King, the Damsel, and the Prince," as described in the Sindibâd-nâmeh, be Pahlavi, we find it in the story of Kâus, Soudâbeh, and Siâvash of the Shâh-nâmeh, which is, as the poet himself says, written from Pahlavi sources.

It appears, that the story of Siâvash is more ancient than the times of the Sassanian period, when the Pahlavi books, from which Firdousi took his materials, were written. We find an illusion to the unsurpassed beauty and innocence of Siâvash in the older writings of the Avesta. In the Avesta writing, known as the Âfrin-i-Spitâmân Zarathusht, we read the following passage:—"Srirem keharpem anâstravanem bavâhi yatha kava Siâvarshânô, *i. e.*, may you be as beautiful and innocent as Siâvash." An allusion to the unparalleled beauty of Siâvash is also made in the Pazend Âfrin, where one is desired to be as beautiful as Siâvash (Hudeed bêd chûn Siâvakhsh).

The Irish Story of Cucullin and Conloch and the Persian Story of Rustam and Sohrâb.

[*Read* 18*th November* 1892. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang, in the Chair.*]

There are several episodes in Firdousi's great epic of the Persians, which present striking points of resemblance to similar episodes in the epics of other nations. In 1887 Prof. Darmesteter, of Paris, drew the attention of our Society to the Mahâbhârata episode of the renunciation of the throne by Yudhishṭhira and his ascension to Heaven, and said that it had its origin in the similar episode of king Kaikhosru in the Shâh-nâmeh. We know that our learned president had then entered a mild caveat against the conclusions arrived at by the French savant. This caveat has drawn forth in defence a learned paper from the pen of the French savant, entitled "Points de Contact entre le Mahâbhârata et le Shâh-nâmeh," read before the Asiatic Society of Paris (Journal Asiatique, 1887, II., p. 38-75). In this paper, the author has entered at great length into the points touched upon by him before our Society, in order to support his theory about the Persian origin of the Indian episode. Whatever be the view as to the country where the story of the episode had its origin, M. Darmesteter has clearly pointed out several points of striking resemblance between the Persian episode of Kaikhosru on the one hand, and the Indian episode of Yudhishṭhira and the Jewish episode of Enoch on the other. In 1889, my friend, Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai, of Bombay, in a public lecture delivered before the Gujarâti Dnyân Prasârak Mandli, pointed out several points of striking resemblance between the Persian episode of Homâe, Behe-âfrid and Arjâsp in the Shâh-nâmeh on the one hand and the Indian episode of Sitâ and Râvan in the Râmâyan and the Greek episode of Helen and Paris in the Iliad on the other.[1] My last paper before our Society on "The so-called Pahlavi origin of the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeh," led to show that there was a striking resemblance between the Persian story of Kâus, Soudâbeh and Siâvakhsh in the Shâh-nâmeh and the Indian story of the King, the Damsel, and the Prince in the Sindibâd-nâmeh. All these stories show, that several Persian stories of the Shâh-nâmeh have their parallels in the epics of the East and the West. My paper this evening treats of a similar subject. It is intended to compare an episode in the Persian epic with that in an Irish epic.

---

[1] શાહાનામા મધેનું એક દાસ્તાન, અને રામાયણ તથા ઈલ્યડની વાર્તાઓ સાથ સરખામણી. જ્ઞાનપ્રસારક મંડળી સન ૧૮૮૮-૮૯ ના મોસમના ભાષણો. ભાષણ છઠું.

Mr. Mohl (small edition Vol. I, Preface p. lxxi.) in the preface to his French translation of the Shâh-nâmeh, was the first to allude to this resemblance. He said, "Miss Brook a découvert, en Irlande deux très-anciennes ballades dont le fond offre une ressemblance étonnante avec l'histoire de Sohrâb." In this paper I have tried to point out the "ressemblance étonnante" in all its details. The two ballads referred to by M. Mohl are "Conloch, a Poem," and "The Lamentation of Cucullin over the body of his son Conloch." They are given by Miss Brooke in her "Reliques of Irish Poetry" published in 1789.

I will first narrate here the Irish story in the words of Mr. O'Halloran, the writer of the introduction[1] to the Poem of Conloch. "In the reign of Conor Mac-Nessa, King of Ulster (about the year of the world 3950), Ireland abounded in heroes of the most shining intrepidity; insomuch that they were all over Europe, by way of eminence, called the Heroes of the Western Isle. Amongst these were Cuchullin, the son of Sualthach; Conal-cearach, and the three sons of Uisneach, Naoise, Ainle, and Ardan, all cousins-german. Cuchullin, in one of his continental expeditions, returning home by way of Albany, or modern Scotland, fell in love, at Dun-Sgathach, with the beautiful Aife, daughter to Airdgenny. The affairs of his country calling him home, he left the lady pregnant; but on taking leave, he directed, in case his child should be a son, to have him carefully brought up to arms, at the academy of Dun-Sgathach. He gave her a chain of gold to be put round his neck, and desired that he should be sent to Ulster, as soon as his military studies were completed, and that he should there recognize him by means of the golden chain. He also left the following injunctions for his conduct: That he should never reveal his name to a foe; that he should not give the way to any man, who seemed to demand it as right; and that he should never decline the single combat with any Knight under the sun.

---

[1] Reliques of Irish Poetry by Miss Brooke, p. 6.

The youth (his education completed), came to Ireland to seek his father; but it appears that he arrived in armour; a manifest proof, according to the etiquette of those days, that he came with an hostile intention, and to look for occasions to signalize his valour. On his approaching Emania, the royal residence of the Ulster Kings, and of the Craobh-ruadh, or Ulster Knights, Conor sent a herald to know who he was? A direct answer, and he armed, would have been improper; it would have been an acknowledgment of timidity. In short, the question was only a challenge; and his being asked to pay an eric or tribute, implied no more than that he should confess the superiority of the Ulster Knights. On his refusal to answer the question, Cuchullin appeared: they engaged, and the latter, hard-pressed, threw a spear with such direction at the young hero, as to wound him mortally. The dying youth then acknowledged himself his son, and that he fell in obedience to the injunctions of his mother. It appears, however, from the poem, that when Cuchullin left her those injunctions, he was far from expecting that his son should have put them in force upon his arrival in Ireland."

Now I will narrate briefly the story of Rustam and Sohràb as given by Firdousi in his Shâh-nâmeh. In the reign of Kâus, Rustam, the great general of the king, went a-hunting one day in the forests near the country of Samangân. Tehеminâ, the daughter of the Prince of Samangân, fell in love with him and Rustam married her. On preparing to leave her country for his native land of Irân, he found her *enciente*. He then gave her a (مُهره) Mohrêh (a kind of precious jewel), with instructions, that in case his child should be a daughter, she should fasten it on her ringlets, but in case it should be a son, he should fasten it on one of his arms. A son being born, Teheminâ named him Sohrâb and fastened the jewel on one of his arms. Sohràb grew up to be a brave and manly young man, eager to seek glory and fame in war, against the rulers of Turân and Irân. Afrasiâb of Turân, the enemy of the Irânian King Kâus, won him over to his side, and placed him at the head of a large army to invade Irân. He sent his two generals, Hômân and Bârmân, with the army under Sohrâb, with strict instructions, that they must always take care, that Sohrâb should not know his father Rustam. The invading army marched to the Daz-i-Sapheed, *i.e.*, the white fortress, which stood over the borderland between Turân and Irân. Hajir, the commander of the fort, fell a prisoner in the hands of Sohrâb. Gordâfrid, a brave and gallant sister of Hajir, then put on the armour of a man, and took the field against Sohrâb. In the heat of the fight in a single combat, her helmet fell off and revealed her to Sohrâb as a woman. Sohrâb being struck with her beauty, wanted to make her a captive, but she succeeded in making her escape by means of sweet tempting words. The next day, Sohrâb found the fort deserted, because Gordâfrid and the other occupants of the fort had left it by a subterranean passage. Sohrâb, then marched further on to Irân. Kâus hearing of the fall of the fortress of Daz-i-Sapheed and the march of Sohrâb, sent for his great general Rustam, who lived in Zaboulistân. On coming to the Court of the king, Rustam was strongly reprimanded by Kâus for being dilatory in obeying his orders. Rustam indignantly left the Court, to return to his country. The successful march of Sohrâb had struck terror into the hearts of all Persians, and the counsellors of the king advised him to be conciliatory and to send again for Rustam, who alone was able to stand against the successful march of Sohrâb and his army. Rustam returned to the Court and took the field against Sohrâb. In the meantime, Sohrâb, who had never previously seen his father Rustam, tried his best to gather from Hajir, the Irânian prisoner under his charge, the particulars about the tent and the whereabouts of Rustam. But Hajir did not give him any correct information, lest Sohrâb should take some foul means to do away with the Irânian general and thus succeed in overthrowing the Irânian rule. Again, it was for the interest of Homân and Barmân, the Turânian officers with Sohrâb, not to let him know who and where his father was. So, the father and the son, not knowing each other, met in a single combat on the battle-field. Sohrâb, out of filial affection, suspected his antagonist to be his father Rustam, and so asked his name. But Rustam evaded the question and did not disclose his name. In the subsequent fight, Rustam fell to the ground and Sohrâb raised his dagger to kill him, but Rustam persuaded young Sohrâb, who was ignorant of the wiles and tricks of war, to postpone his killing him till he was thrown down on the ground for the third time. The next day Rustam succeeded in throwing Sohrâb to the ground, and he, instead of waiting for the third fight, at once stabbed Sohrâb with his dagger. Sohrâb, in his dying words, found fault with the treachery of his antagonist, and said, that his father Rustam, when he would come to know of his treacherous conduct, was sure to revenge his death. The mention of the name of Rustam, as that of his father, soon made Rustam discover his mistake, but it was too late. Sohrâb showed him the jewel on his arm to assure him of his being Rustam's son. Rustam then began to lament and curse himself, and sent Goudrez to Kâus to ask from him (نوشدارو) *nósh dârú*, a solution to heal dagger wounds, but he could not get it. Sohrâb soon died of the mortal wound on the battle-field, and the grief of Rustam was indescribable. Tehemin**â**, the mother of Sohrâb, soon learnt of the sad fate of her beloved son, and died of grief and sorrow within a year after Sohrâb's death.

Thus we find that the Irish and Persian stories resemble a good deal in the principal facts, (*a*) of a son and a father fighting with each other in ignorance, (*b*) and of the son being killed by the hand of his father. We will now note here a few points of striking resemblance in some of the details of the stories :—

1. Both the generals fall in love with princesses far away from their native countries. Cucullin, the Irish general, falls in love with Aife, daughter to Airdgenny, in the country of Albany. Rustam, the Irânian general, falls in love with Tehemin**â**, the daughter of the King of Samangân, in the country of Turân.

2. Both leave with their wives, precious ornaments to be put on by their expected children for the sake of recognition. Cucullin leaves a golden chain for the purpose ; Rustam a *Mohrâh* or a kind of jewel.

3. In both the stories, the sons, when they come to age, march with large armies against the countries, under whose kings their fathers serve as generals.

4. In both the stories, the sons before fighting with their fathers, fight with and take captive other heroes. Sohrâb fights with and takes prisoner Hajir, the commander of the fortress of Dez-i Sapheed, situated on the borderland between Turân and Irân. Conloch, in the Irish story, fights with and takes prisoner Conall Cearnach, the master of the Ulster kings.

5. On seeing the defeat of their eminent generals, both the kings send for their heroes who stand first in rank. Kâus, the King of Irân, sends for his hero, Rustam, who lives in his country of

Zaboulistân. Conor, the king of Ulster, sends for his hero, Cucullin, who lives in his fortress of Dundalgan. Conor orders (p. 12):

> "Quick let a rapid courier fly!
> (Indignant Auliffe cried,)
> Quick with the shameful tidings let him hie,
> And to our aid the first of heroes call,
> From fair Dundalgan's lofty wall,
> Or Dethin's ancient pride!"

Compare with this the Irânian king's words to his messenger Giv. "Go fast. Handle well the reins of your horse. When you go to Rustam, you need not rest in Zâboul even if you feel drowsy. If you arrive there at night, turn back the next morning. Tell him (Rustam) that we are reduced to straitened circumstances in war. If this brave man will not come forward, we cannot treat with contempt this evil-minded enemy."[1]

6. Both the heroes, Cucullin and Rustam, make a little delay in responding to the call of their sovereign. Conor, the Irish King, welcomes his general, Cucullin, though late (p. 12):—

> "Welcome, Cucullin! mighty chief!
> Though late, O welcome to thy friend's relief!
> Behold the havoc of yon deadly blade!
> Behold our hundred warriors bite the ground!
> Behold thy friend, thy Conall bound!
> Behold—nor be thy vengeful arm delay'd!"

---

[1] بگیو آنگهي گفت بشتاب زود
عنانِ تکاور بباید بسود

نباید که چون نزد رستم شوي
بزابل بماني وگر بغنوي
اگر شب رسي روز را باز گرد
بگویش که تنگ اندر آمد نبرد
وگرنه فرازست این مرد گرد
بد اندیش را خوار نتوان شمرد

Vuller, I., p. 461-62.

Kâus, the Irânian King, at first gets angry at the delay and gives vent to his anger, which makes Rustam leave his court indignantly. But, when looking to the situation of imminent danger from the invading enemy, he sends for Rustam again, and when the latter being prevailed upon by the call of duty to his country, returns to the court of the king, he is welcomed as follows:

"Through the terror caused by this thoughtless new enemy, my heart was as much reduced as the new moon. I sent for you to find out a remedy for this. And when you came late I got angry. But O elephant-bodied hero! if you were offended, I repented of it, and filled my mouth with dust of repentance . . . . . O hero! may your soul be always bright. It seems advisable that to-day we meet in an assembly of pleasure and to-morrow arrange for the battle."[1]

7. As seen above, we learn from the Shâh-nâmeh that the Irânian general, Rustam, had cause to be offended against King

---

[1] وزین نا سگالیده بدخواه نو
دلم گشت باریک چون ماه نو
بدین چاره جستن ترا خواستم
چو دیر آمدي تندي آراستم
چو آزرده گشتي تواي پیلتن
پشیمان شدم خاکم اندر دهن

....

چنین گفت کاوس کاي پهلوان
ترا باد پیوسته روشن روان
چنین بهتر آید که امروز بزم
بسازیم و فردا گزینیم رزم

Vuller, p. 471-72.

Kâus, and that it was after reconciliation that he went to war against Sohrâb. From the Irish story also we learn, that the Irish general, Cucullin, also had a cause to be offended against king Conor, and that it was after " a kind of sullen reconciliation" that he took arms against the new invader, Conloch. But the causes of the offence were different. In the Irânian story, it was the delay of Rustam in responding to the immediate call of his sovereign. In the case of the Irish story, it was the breach of faith on the part of the king, who (in order to prevent the fulfilment of a prediction) had ordered a few of Cucullin's kinsmen to be murdered, because one of them had married a beautiful girl, whom the king had guarded in a fortress, to frustrate the prophecy, that she would bring ruin to the house of Ulster.

8. In both the stories, the generals leave the courts with anger on account of the unbecoming conduct of their sovereigns, and at first refuse to go to war against the enemies, but at last better counsels and a call to duty prevail. Conor, the Ulster king, thus persuades Cucullin to change his mind, and withdraw his refusal (p. 15):—

"And wilt thou then decline the fight,
O arm of Erin's fame!
Her glorious, her unconquered knight,
Her first and fav'rite name!
No, brave Cucullin! mighty chief
Of bright victorious steel!
Fly to thy Conall, to thy friend's relief,
And teach the foe superior force to feel!"

Godrez, the minister of the Persian king, thus persuades Rustam to change his mind, and to take arms for the sake of his king and his country :

" Do not turn your back thus on the Shâh of Irân. By such a retreat, do not disgrace your name which has been so much exalted in the whole of the world. And now, when the army (of the enemy) presses upon us, do not darken unwisely (the future of) this crown and this throne, because disgrace comes to us from the land of Turân. Our holy religion will not approve of this."[1]

9. As Cucullin in the Irish story is an "unconquered" knight so is Rustam of the Persian story, an unconquered hero. No hero had ever thrown him down upon the ground in a single combat.

10. According to both the stories, the aged general (the father), before beginning the combat, makes an offer of peace to his young antagonist (the son). In the Irish story Cucullin says to Conloch (p. 16):

"Let me, O valiant knight, (he cried)
Thy courtesy request!
To me thy purpose, and thy name confide,
And what thy lineage and thy land declare?
Do not my friendly hand refuse,
And proffer'd peace decline;—
Yet, if thou wilt the doubtful combat choose,
The combat then, O fair-hair'd youth! be thine!"

In the Persian story Rustam pities Sohrâb, and asks him to desert the side of Turân and go over to that of Irân. He says:

---

[1] ز مهراب یل رفت یکسر سخن
چنین پشت برشاه ایران مکن
چنین برشده نامت اندر جهان
بدین باز گشتن مکردان نهان
و دیگر که ننگ اندر آمد سپاه
مکن تیره برخیره این تاج و گاه
که ننگ است برما ز توران زمین
پسنده نباشد بر پاک دین

Vuller, I., p. 471.

"My heart pities you, and I do not like to deprive you of your life. Do not remain in the company of the Turks. I know of none in Irân who is your equal in having such shoulders and arms."[1]

11. According to both the stories, when the two generals (father and son) meet for a single combat, the first thing they do, is that one of them puts to the other a question about his name and parentage, and the other evades the question. In the Irish story it is Cucullin, the father, that puts the question, and it is Conloch, the son, that evades it. But in the Persian story it is Sohrâb, the son, that puts the question, and Rustam, the father, that evades it. Cucullin says to Conloch (p. 16):

> "To me thy purpose, and thy name confide,
>
> And what thy lineage and thy land declare?"

Conloch then refuses to give any information and to accept the offer of peace (p. 16).

> "Never shall aught so base as fear
> The hero's bosom sway!
> Never, to please a curious ear,
> Will I my fame betray!
> No, gallant chief! I will to none
> My name, my purpose, or my birth reveal;
> Nor even from *thee* the combat will I shun,
> Strong though thine arm appear, and tried thy martial steel."

Sohrâb, who suspects his antagonist to be his father, Rustam, thus questions him:

"I ask you a question, you must tell me the truth. Tell me plainly, what is your parentage? Please my heart with your good words. I suspect that you are Rustam, that you are descended from the family of glorious Narimân." Rustam, in order to frighten the young warrior with the idea, that Rustam was a more powerful and stronger man than the strong-built man before him, says an untruth, and denies his being Rustam. "I am neither Rustam, nor am I of the family of Sâm Narimân. He is a great warrior and I am much inferior to him. I neither possess the throne nor the crown."[1]

---

[1] همی رحمت آرد بتوبردلم
نخواهم که جانت زتن بگسلم
نمانی بترکان بدین یال وسفت
به ایران ندانم ترا نیزجفت

Vuller, I., p. 188.

12. In both the stories we find that the hearts of the sons, while fighting with their fathers, are touched with feelings of tenderness and filial affection. In the Irish story Conloch, while refusing to answer the questions of Cucullin, and while declining his offers of peace, says (p. 16):—

> "Yet hear me own, that, did the vow
> Of chivalry allow,
> I would not thy request withstand,
> But gladly take, in peace, thy proffer'd hand.
> So does that face each hostile thought controul!
> So does that noble mien possess my soul!"

In the Persian story Sohrâb says to Homân: "My feelings are affected by looking to (his stature), his feet and his stirrups. My face is covered with shame (to fight against him). I find (in him) all the marks pointed out by my mother, and I tremble in my heart for him."[2]

---

[1] بدو گفت کز تو بپرسم سخن
همه راستي بايد افگند بن
يکايک نژادت مرا ياد دار
ز گفتارِ خوبت مرا شاد دار
من ايدون گمانم که تو رستمی
که از تخمهٔ نامور نيرمي
چنين داد پاسخ که رستم نيم
هم از تخمهٔ سام نيرم نيم
که او پهلوانست و من کهترم
نه با تخت و گاهم نه با افسرم

Vuller, I., p. 488.

[2] ز پاي و رکيبش همي مهرِ من
بجنبد بشرم آورد چهر من
نشانهاي مادر بيابم همي
بدل نيز لختي بتابم همي

Vuller, I., p. 497.

13. According to both the stories, the single combat between the generals was unprecedented, and lasted very long. The Irish story says (p. 17):

> "Dire was the strife each valiant arm maintain'd,
> And undecided long their fates remain'd;
> For, till that hour, no eye had ever view'd
> A field *so* fought, a conquest *so* pursu'd !"

According to Firdousi, "they fought with each other from sunrise to sunset."

14. According to both the stories, the older generals, before killing their younger antagonists, were very hard-pressed. Cucullin was hard-pressed at first by his young antagonist, Conloch, when (p. 17)—

> "At length Cucullin's kindling soul arose ;
> Indignant shame recruited fury lends ;
> With fatal aim his glittering lance he throws,
> And low on earth the dying youth extends."

In the Persian story also, we find Rustam very hard-pressed at first. In the first combat he was thrown down upon the ground by Sohrâb. Then he prayed to God for additional strength, and threw down and killed Sohrâb in the second combat.

15. It appears from both the stories, that the sons did not take full advantage of their strength as young men against their aged antagonists. Conloch, out of affectionate feelings for Cucullin, did not use all his strength to overpower him. When later on he was stabbed by his father, he says to him (p. 20):

> " But, ah Cucullin !—dauntless knight !—
> Ah !—had'st thou better mark'd the fight !
> Thy skill in arms might soon have made thee know
> That I was only *half* a foe !
> Thou would'st have seen, for glory though I fought,
> Defence,—not blood I sought.
> Thou would'st have seen, from that dear breast,
> Nature and love thy Conloch's arm arrest !
> Thou would'st have seen his spear instinctive stray;
> And, when occasion dar'd its force,
> Still from that form it fondly turn'd away,
> And gave to air its course."

Sohrâb, when he first threw Rustam to the ground, raised his dagger to stab him, but being soon moved by the words of Rustam, for whom, in the midst of fight, he entertained tender feelings, he let him go. Like Conloch, Sohrâb, when wounded with the fatal blow, thus reminds Rustam of it: "I was kind to you in every way, but you did not show me a particle of favour."[1]

The most touching parts in both the stories are the lamentations of the fathers when they know that they have killed their own sons.

There is one great difference between these two stories. In the Persian story, both the father and the son do not know each other and so both fight in utter ignorance of each other. But in the Irish story, Conloch, the son, knows his father, Cucullin, but fights with him in accordance with the rules of chivalry, which Cucullin had asked his wife to communicate to their child, in case the child should be a son. Cucullin's injunctions for his son's conduct were: "That he should never reveal his name to a foe; that he should not give way to any man who seemed to demand it as a right; and that he should never decline the single combat with any knight under the sun."

Now, the question is, which is the home of these two stories? It seems that ancient Irân was the country where the touching story had its home. The very name of Ireland suggests that the country was originally inhabited by a tribe of the ancient Aryans, the common ancestors of the Irânians of Firdousi and of other adjoining nations. Again, has not the word Erin, used in the above Irish poem of Cucullin as an ancient name of Ireland, a close resemblance with the name of Irân? Firdousi's poem of Rustam and Sohrâb, which forms a small part of his whole epic, is, as compared to the Irish poem, a very long one. Again, according to Persian writers, and according to the Bundehesh, the time when Rustam, the national hero of Irân lived, was very old. It appears, therefore, that the story had, with several other stories, passed orally from the East to the West. It is possible that the Celts took it with them to Ireland.

According to M. Mohl, this tradition of a son, fighting in ignorance with his father, is also found among other nations besides the Irish. "J. Grimm has published some fragments of a German poem of the 8th century which rests upon a similar foundation, ... and Dietrich has published a Russian tale which gives a similar story."[1] It appears from an article in the *Academy* of 19th April 1890, written by Mr. H. Krebs, and headed "Firdousi and the Old High German lay of Hildebrand" that "Green in his Critical Edition of Hildebrandsleid (Gottinger, 1858) has first pointed out a striking parallel between the German song and the Persian episode." Mr. Krebs also mentions in connection with this episode, the classical legend of Œdipus in which it is the son who slays his father in ignorance. A comparison of the abovenamed similar German and Russian songs by some members of our Society, interested in Arian folk-song, is likely to throw a strong light on the question of the origin of the story. Leaving aside the question of its home, we have seen in this paper, that the Irish story is similar to the Persian, not only in its main features, but also in some of its details.

---

[1] ز هرگونه بودم ترا رهنماي
نجنبيد يک ذرّه مهرت زجاي
Vuller, I., p. 504.

---

[1] Mohl, 1876, small edition, Vol. I., Preface p. lxxi.

The Bas-relief of Beharâm Gour (Beharâm V.) at Naksh-i-Rustam, and His Marriage with an Indian Princess.

[*Read 17th December 1894. Dr. Gerson Da Cunha in the Chair.*]

The sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam or on the rock of the mountain, otherwise known as the Mountain of Sepulchres, have long been "the subjects of discussion with the traveller, the artist and the antiquary." Sir Robert Kerr Porter has described at some length "the remains which mark the lower line of the rock and which are attributed to kings of Arsacedian and Sassanian race."[1] The object of this paper is (I) to determine the event, which is intended to be commemorated in the first of the lower bas-reliefs of Naksh-i-Rustam ; (II) to describe the event so commemorated ; and (III) to examine how far (*a*) Indian books, (*b*) Indian coins, and (*c*) Indian monuments support the description.

I.

Porter, after describing it at some length,[2] says :—"From the composition of this piece, even as it now appears, shewing a royal union, and, as its more perfect former state is exhibited in the drawing I saw at Shiraz, where a boy with a princely diadem completes the group, I find that it corresponds with a Sassanian silver coin in my possession. On that coin are the profiles of a king, a queen, and a boy. On the reverse, is a burning altar, supported by the same man and woman, the latter holding a ring in her right hand. From the Pelhivi legend which surrounds the coin, it is one of the Baharams, which is there written Vahraran. Comparing certain peculiar circumstances which marked the reign of Baharam the Fifth, surnamed Gour, with the design on the coin, and with the figures on this excavation, I should conclude that the king in both is Baharam the Fifth."[1]

---

[1] Porter's Travels, I., p. 529.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 530-532. "The first under consideration (Plate XIX) presents itself soon after we pass the tomb in the most eastern direction. Much of it is buried in the earth ; the three figures, which are its subject, being now only visible as high as the upper part of the thighs. The two principal are engaged in grasping, with their outstretched arms, a wreath or twisted bandeau, from which hang a couple of waving ends. The first figure, which holds it with his right hand, stands in the right of the sculpture, and appears to be a king. He is crowned with a diadem of a bonnet-shape, round which runs a range of upward fluted ornaments, surmounted with a high balloon-like mass, rising from the middle of the crown. From the imitation of folds in the stone, it is evidently intended to be a decoration of some sort of stuff. A fillet binds the bottom of the head-dress round the forehead ; appearing to tie behind, amongst a redundancy of long flowing hair, whence it streams in two waving ends, resembling those from the wreath he is clasping. These loose ribband-like appendages seem badges of Arsacedian and Sassanian sovereignty ; and we find them attached to various parts of the

So far, we agree with Porter that the Bas-relief belongs to Beharâm Gour, and commemorates an event of his life. But what is that event? Sir Kerr Porter gives an anecdote on the authority of Sir John Malcolm and connects the Bas-relief with that anecdote.

It is an anecdote, which is described by Malcolm, as having been heard by him in 1810, at one of Beharâm Gour's hunting seats. I will describe it here in the words of Malcolm himself, as Porter's version of it differs from it in some material points :—

" Baharam, proud of his excellence as an archer, wished to display it before a favourite lady. He carried her to the plain; an antelope was soon found, asleep. The monarch shot an arrow with such precision as to graze its ear. The animal awoke, and put his hind hoof to the ear, to strike off the fly by which he conceived himself annoyed. Another arrow fixed his hoof to his horn. Baharam turned to the lady, in expectation of her praises: she coolly observed, *Neeko kurden z pur kurden est;* 'Practice makes perfect.'

---

regal dress in all these remains of antiquity. His hair, as I observed before, is full, flowing, and curled, having nothing of the stiff wig-appearance so remarkable in the bas-reliefs of the race of Cyrus. The beard of this figure is very singularly disposed. On the upper lip, it is formed like moustachios; and grows from the front of the ear, down the whole of the jaw, in neat short curls; but on the chin it becomes a great length, (which, as I have noticed before, seems to be a lasting attribute of royalty in Persia,) and is tied together, just at the point of the chin, whence it hangs like a large tassel. At his ear is the fragment of an immense pearl, and a string of the same is round his neck. . . . . The personage on the left is, without doubt, a woman, the outline of the form making it evident. On her head, we see a large crown of a mural shape. . . . Her right hand clasps the wreath with the king . . . . The third figure visible in the group stands behind the king; and from some part of his apparel, appears to be a guard."

[1] *Ibid*, p. 533.

Enraged at this uncourtly observation, the king ordered her to be sent into the mountains to perish. Her life was saved by the mercy of a minister, who allowed her to retire to a small village on the side of a hill. She lodged in an upper room, to which she ascended by twenty steps. On her arrival she bought a small calf, which she carried up and down the stairs everyday. This exercise was continued for four years; and the increase of her strength kept pace with the increasing weight of the animal. Baharam, who had supposed her dead, after a fatiguing chase stopped one evening at this village. He saw a young woman carrying a large cow up a flight of twenty steps. He was astonished, and sent to inquire how strength so extraordinary had been acquired by a person of so delicate a form. The lady said she would communicate her secret to none but Baharam; and to him only on his condescending to come alone to her house. The king instantly went; on his repeating his admiration of what he had seen, she bade him not lavish praises where they were not due: 'Practice makes perfect,' said she, in her natural voice, and at the same time lifted up her veil. Baharâm recognised and embraced his favourite. Pleased with the lesson she had given him, and delighted with the love which had led her to pass four years in an endeavour to regain his esteem, he ordered a palace to be built on the spot, as a hunting-seat, and a memorial of this event."[1] Having given this story, Porter says "The female figure in the Bas-relief may very fairly be considered this redoubtable queen."[2] But in order to uphold his theory, that the Bas-relief commemorates the above event of Beharâm Gour's life, Porter seems to take some unauthorized liberty with Malcolm's version of the story. Malcolm calls the woman in the story "a favourite lady," but Porter chooses to call her a "favourite wife" and "a queen."

Now, it appears from Firdousi, that the woman in the story was neither Beharâm's favourite wife nor his queen. She was merely a favourite flute-player. The story of "Practice makes perfect," which Malcolm describes, as having heard at one of Beharâm's hunting-seats, seems to me, to be an amplified version of a well-nigh similar story, described by Firdousi, and I wonder how Firdousi's story had escaped the notice of Malcolm.

---

[1] History of Persia (1829), Vol. I., p. 94 n. [2] Travels, I, p. 535.

It occurred when Beharâm was quite young and was under the tutelage of Namân (نعمان) at the court of Manzar (منذر) of Arabia. The story, as described by Firdousi, runs thus[1]: —

Beharâm, who was a very clever hand in hunting, went one day to the chase with Ãzdeh, a woman of Roum, who was his favourite flute-player. He came across two antelopes, one male and another female. Beharâm asked Âzdeh, 'Which of the two you wish me to aim at?' She replied, 'A brave man never fights with antelopes, so you better turn with your arrows the female into a male and the male into a female. Then, when an antelope passes by your side, you aim at it an arrow, in such a way, that it merely touches its ear without hurting it, and that when he lays down his ear over the shoulder and raises its foot to scratch it, you aim another arrow in such a way as, to pierce the head, the shoulder and the foot all at the same time.' Beharâm had with him an arrow with two points. He aimed it at the male in such a way that it carried away its two horns, and gave it the appearance of a female. Then he threw two arrows at the female antelope in such a clever way, that they struck her head and fixed themselves over it, so as to give her the appearance of a male with two horns. Then he aimed his arrow at another antelope so as to merely touch its ear. The animal raised its foot to scratch its ear, when Beharâm aimed at it, another arrow, so cleverly that he hit the head, the ear and the foot all at the same time. The woman thereupon shed tears from her eyes, saying it was inhuman on the part of Beharâm to have so killed the poor animal. This enraged Beharâm, who had done all this at her bidding. He said 'It is all a deceit on your part. If I had failed in doing what you ordered me to do, my family would have been put to shame.' With these words he immediately killed her.

Now, it is this story, related by Firdousi, that Malcolm heard in 1810, in another, rather amplified, garb, and it is this story, that Porter thinks, that the device and characters on the Bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam (and the corresponding device and characters on the coins and medals) appear to commemorate. In Firdousi's version, the woman is not mentioned as a queen.

Again in Firdousi's version, there is not that so-called "royal union." According to that version, the woman is killed there and then for her impertinent taunt.

---

[1] Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1467.

Now, is it likely, that a king like Beharâm Gour, who was, as Sir John Malcolm says, "certainly one of the best monarchs who ever ruled Persia," should commemorate on a rock, sanctified as it were by the monuments of his royal ancestors, a foolish act of his boyhood? Porter bases his interpretation of the Bas-relief on Malcolm's story, as heard by him more than a thousand years after the event. But Firdousi's Shâh-nâmeh should be a better authority than the oral traditions that had preserved and exaggerated the story. So, if Beharâm had chosen to commemorate the above event of the hunting-ground, he could have more appropriately done that, during the time of his impulsive boyhood, and that somewhere in the very vicinity of the scene of that event, *i.e.*, in Arabia. That something of that sort was actually done in Arabia, not by Beharâm Gour himself, but by Manzar, in whose court he was brought up, appears from another historian Tabari. Tabari[1] thus describes another hunting feat of Beharâm: One day Beharâm, in company with Manzar, went a-hunting. They saw a wild ass running by their side. Beharâm ran after it, but found that it was overtaken by a lion, who was just on the point of devouring it. Beharâm immediately threw an arrow with such dexterity, that it passed, both through the lion and the ass, and killed them both at the same time. Manzar, in order to commemorate this dexterity of Beharâm, ordered a painting of the hunting scene to be drawn on the walls of the palace, where Beharâm lived. So, the proper place of the sculpture of the hunting scene, described by Firdousi, was Arabia, as related by Tabari, and not Persia, as suggested by Porter on the authority of a story related by Malcolm Again, as according to Firdousi, there was nothing like a "royal union," how can the bas-relief commemorate that event?

Now, we find, that Madame Dieulafoy, an intelligent wife of an intelligent husband, also describes the same story in her book of travels[2], and gives a painting, which decorated a door-frame in the house, which she occupied in the valley of Eclid. The painting gives a clear idea of Malcolm's story of "Practice makes perfect."

The painting is entitled "Rencontre de Baharam et de son ancienne favourite." It represents the woman as ascending a staircase with a cow on her back, and the king as approaching her on horseback. Then, if Beharâm proposed commemorating what Porter chooses to call a "royal union," he would have produced a bas-relief of the type presented in the painting as given by Madame Dieulafoy, and not of the type actually found at present, which seems to be more dignified, and has every appearance of commemorating a more solemn and important event in the life of the king.

---

[1] Tabari, par Zotenberg II, pp. 111-112.

[2] La Perse, la Chaldée. et la Susiane. p. 357.

Then comes the question, if we reject Porter's interpretation of the bas-relief, what is a more probable interpretation? What other event in the life of Beharâm Gour it is, that the bas-relief proposes to commemorate?

I think, it is the event of Beharâm Gour's marriage with the Indian princess Sepihnud that the Bas-relief proposes to commemorate. It commemorates the confirmation of that marriage at Âzer Goushasp, one of the most celebrated, if not the most celebrated, fire-temples of ancient Irân.

Though Porter has misinterpreted the device and the characters of the Bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam, we should feel indebted to him, for indirectly putting us in the right track of identifying another event of Beharâm Gour's life as the one sought to be commemorated on the rock. We said above, that Porter determined, that the device and the characters on the bas-relief corresponded with those on a coin of Beharâm Gour in his possession (*vide* No. 10, Plate I., Vol. I., Pinkerton's Essay on Medals, 1808). Having interpreted, with the help of Malcolm's story of "Practice makes perfect," the device and the characters of the Bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam, Porter proceeds to interpret the device and the characters on the coin in a similar way. But, in doing so, he omits to explain the fact—and that the most important fact—that a fire-altar stands between the king and the queen. If the coin commemorates the event of the "Practice makes perfect" story, what has the fire-altar to do with it? Of course, we know that there are other coins of Beharâm Gour (Plate VII., fig. 8, Numasmatic Illustration of the Rule of the Sassanians in Persia by E. Thomas) and of other Sassanian kings on which also we find fire-altars. But none of these coins have a woman's picture on them. The picture of a woman on this coin in question, with the fire-altar between her and the king, seems to have a particular signification.

"On the numerous coins of other Sassanian kings," says Ousley, "the fire-altar is merely guarded by two armed men, one on each side, like those figures which our heralds entitle the supporters."[1]

Now Ousley tries to explain the device and the characters on the coin in quite another way. Several coins and medals of king Beharâm have been discovered with similar devices and characters. Ousley thus describes them: "The obverse exhibiting her (the queen's) profile close to that king's head, whilst on the reverse we behold her (the queen) standing near the Zoroastrian flame, which she and Baharam, an altar being between them, seem to regard with veneration, perhaps nourishing it with fragrant or costly substances."[2] Ousley thinks it possible, though rash to affirm, that the queen on the medals of Beharâm was "Sepinud whom Baharam selected among the loveliest princes of India."[3] He thinks that the fire-altar on these coins and medals is the fire-altar of the celebrated fire-temple of Âzer Goushasp. Again Beharâm is represented on the medal as holding something in his hand. As to that, Ousley says: "What Beharâm holds does not distinctly appear on these medals; but Firdousi describes him as grasping the 'barsom' (برسم) (small twigs or branches of a certain tree used in religious ceremonies) when proceeding to the Fire-altar with his beautiful Sepinud."[4]

Thus, we find, that as Ousley has pointed out, the coin of Beharâm Gour, with the king and queen standing on each side of a fire-altar, commemorates the "royal union" of Beharâm Gour with the Indian princess Sepinud, and not the meeting of Beharâm Gour with a favourite lady named Âzdeh. It commemorates a solemn event in the life of the king, and not a foolish act.

Thus then, if, with the help of Ousley's interpretation, we come to the conclusion, that the coin of Beharâm Gour commemorates the event of the confirmation of the king's marriage with the Indian princess Sepinud, our work of interpreting the device and the characters on the bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rustam is easy, because it is Porter himself, who has determined, that the device and characters in both correspond. The king and queen on the bas-relief are, therefore, Beharâm and his Indian queen Sepinud. Sir Kerr Porter refers to the third figure on the bas-relief as that of a guard. "He holds up his right hand in the attitude of enjoining silence."[1] I think it is the figure of the officiating priest in the above temple of Âzer Goushasp. Ousley is mistaken in saying that Beharâm is represented by Firdousi as holding a "barsom" in his hand. What Firdousi says is, that the head priest of the temple advances with the Barsom in his hand, to admit the Indian queen into the Zoroastrian religion. I will give here in full, Firdousi's account of the confirmation ceremony of Beharâm's marriage with Sepinud, which, I think, it is the purpose of the bas-relief to commemorate. The description reminds a modern Parsee of Nán (a word which is the contraction of Sanskrit स्नान) ceremony, which precedes the marriage ceremony. Firdousi says:—

---

[1] Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 140. [2] Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 139.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid*, p. 140, n. 72.

"The king and his army then got over their horses and went to the land of Âzar Gushasp. He gave a good deal of his wealth in charity to the poor and gave more to the needy who concealed their needs. The worshipper (in charge) of the fire of Zarthôsht went before him with *bâj* and *barsom* in hand. The king led Sepinud before him. He taught her the religion and its manners and customs. He purified her with the good religion and with holy water, and the impurities of a foreign race were removed from her."

We have finished the task of examining Porter's interpretation of the device and characters on the bas-relief of Beharâm Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam, and of substituting another interpretation in its place, on the authority of Ousley's possible interpretation of the corresponding device and characters on a coin of Beharâm Gour. We will conclude this paper, with a short account of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and of his marriage with Sepinud, as given in the Shâh-nâmeh. Firdousi's account gives us a glimpse of the court of an Indian Rájá, as seen by a Persian prince.

II.

It appears from the Shâh-nâmeh that in the reign of Beharâm Gour (A. D. 417—438) Kanoj was the capital of Northern India. Shangel (شنگل) was the appellation of the then ruler of India. His country extended from Hindustân (the country on the banks of the Indus) to the frontiers of China. He demanded tribute from China and Sind (چین و سند). The Vazir of Beharâm Gour once excited the ambition of his master to conquer the country of this powerful king. Beharâm asked a friendly but threatening letter to be written to Shangel. I give here the full text of the letter from the Persian king to the Indian Rájá, to give an idea of the way in which letters were then written :

---

[1] Porter's Travels I., p. 532.

"May the blessings of God be upon him, who seeks His blessings. He is the Master of Existence and of Non-existence. Everything in the world has its equal, but God is unique. Of all things that He bestows upon His man, whether he be a servant of the throne or the possessor of a crown, there is nothing in this world better than reason, which enlightens the low as well as the great. He, who gets pleased with reason, never behaves badly in the world. He, who chooses virtue never repents. One never drinks an evil from the water of wisdom. Wisdom releases a man from his calamity. May one never be overtaken with calamity! The first evidence of (one's possessing) wisdom is, that he is always afraid of doing an evil, that he keeps his body under control and that he seeks the world with an eye of wisdom. Wisdom is the crown of kings. It is the ornament of all great men." After this short dissertation on virtue and wisdom, Beharâm Gour addresses the Indian king directly as follows:—

"You know not (how to remain in) your own limit; you attach your soul to yourself. Although I am the ruler at this time, and although all good or evil must proceed from me, you are ruling as a king. How can there be justice then? Injustice proceeds from every direction. It does not befit kings to be hasty and to be in alliance with evil-thinkers. Your ancestors were our vassals. Your father was a vassal of our kings. None of us has ever consented to the tribute from Hindustan falling into arrears. Look to the fate of the Khâkân of Chin, who came to Irân from Chinâ? All, that he had brought with him, was destroyed, and he was obliged to turn away from the evil, which he himself had done. I find, that you have similar manners, traits of character, dignity and religion. I am in possession of instruments of war and all the necessary means. The whole of my army is unanimous (to go to war) and well prepared. You cannot stand against my brave warriors. There is no commander (worthy of the name) in the whole of India. You have a conceited high opinion of your power; you carry a river before a sea. However, I now send you a messenger, who is eloquent, wise and high minded. Either send tribute or prepare for war and tighten your belt. Greetings from us to the souls of those, with whom justice and wisdom are as well mixed up, as the warp and the woof."

Beharâm Gour then addressed this letter of threat to "Shangel, the Commander of Hind (which extends) from the river of Kanoj to the country of Sind." He chose himself as a messenger to carry this letter, and under the pretence of going for hunt, started with a few chosen and confidential followers for India and crossed the Indus, which Firdousi calls the river of the country of magicians (آب جادوستان). When he went to the grand palace of the Indian king, he saw it guarded by armed men and elephants and heard bells and Indian clarions playing. He was received into the audience hall with all honour due to the envoy of a great king. Beharâm found the Indian palace to be a magnificent one, with crystal on its ceiling, and silver, gold and gems on the walls. The king had a brother and a son with him in the audience hall, when Beharâm communicated to him the message from the Court of Persia. He submitted the letter before the Indian prince with the following words:—

"O king of kingly descent! a son like whom no mother in the world has given birth to, the great exhalted (King of Persia), who is the cause of happiness to his city, by whose justice, poison becomes an antidote of poison, to whom all great men pay tributes, and to whom lions fall a prey, who, when he takes the sword in a battle, turns a desert into a sea of blood, who in generosity is like a cloud of spring, and before whom, treasure and wealth are nothing, sends a message to your Majesty of India and a Pahlavi letter on satin."

The Indian king, in reply, refused with indignation to pay any tribute to the Persian king. In this reply, he described his country to be very rich and to be full of amber, aloe, musk, camphor, medicinal drugs, gold, silver and precious stones. He said, he had eighty princes under his sovereignty, acknowledging him as the paramount power. His country extended from Kanoj to the frontiers of Irân and to the country of Saklab (the Slavs). All the sentinels in Hind and Khoten and Chin proclaimed his name. He had the daughter of the Fugfoor of Chin as a wife. A son was born to him of this wife from Chin. He had an army of 300,000 men under him. He had twelve hundred dependents who were his blood relations.

After the communication of the message and the above reply from the Indian king, Beharâm had a friendly fight in the presence of the king, with one of his best warriors. The superior strength in the fight, and the skill in the art of using the bow and the arrow, which Beharâm showed, made the king suspect that Beharâm was not an ordinary courtier of the court of Persia, but a man of royal blood. He asked his minister to persuade Beharâm to postpone his departure for some time and stay a little longer at Kanoj, where, he said, the fruit trees gave two crops per year. The Vazir tried to win Beharâm over to the side of the Indian king and to persuade him to make Kanoj his permanent residence. Beharâm refused. and then the king tried to do away with this powerful Persian messenger by requesting him to go to kill a ferocious wolf and a dragon in the vicinity of his city. He expected Beharâm to be killed in the fight with these animals, but to his surprise Beharâm returned victorious.

Now, Shangel had a very beautiful daughter by name (سپینود) Sepinud. He offered the daughter in marriage to Beharâm, hoping that by that marriage he could secure the permanent stay of such a brave general as Beharâm at his Court. Beharâm consented and married Sepinud. One day Beharâm confided to Sepinud the secret of his position and proposed to her to run away from Hindustan to Irân, where he promised to install her as queen. Sepinud consented and asked Beharâm to wait for five days, when the king with all his retinue was expected to go on an annual pilgrimage to a religious place, about 20 furlongs from Kanoj. She said, that the king's absence from the city would be a convenient time to leave the country. Beharâm followed her advice and under the pretence of illness declined to accompany the king. During the absence of the king, he left the country with his queen and marched continuously till he reached the banks of the Indus, across which there was going on a brisk trade. Some of the Irânian merchants on the river recognized Beharâm, but he asked them to keep the secret for some time longer. By this time, Shangel came to know of the flight of his daughter and Beharâm, and followed them in hot pursuit with a large army. He overtook them, but then learning, that his son-in-law was no other than the Persian king Beharâm Gour himself, he was much pleased and returned to his own country. Beharâm, on his return to Irân, took his Indian queen to the then celebrated great fire-temple of Âder-Goushasp, and got her zoroastrianized at the hand of the head priest of the temple.

After some time Shangel paid a friendly visit to Persia, and was accompanied by the following seven tributary princes[1] :—The king of

---

[1] M. Mohl. Small Edition, Vol. VI., p. 50.

Cabul, the king of Sind, the king of the Yogis, king Sandel, king Jandel, the king of Cashmere and the king of Multan. He stayed for two months at the court of Persia, and, a short time before his return, he gave a document to his daughter Sepinud, which expressed his will, that at his death, the throne of Kanoj should pass to his daughter and son-in-law.

Malcolm, in his History of Persia,[1] alludes to this episode and considers it to be a romance hardly deserving of notice, but he does not give any reasons for this allegation. It is a matter of great surprise that he should reject, as altogether romantic, an episode described by Firdousi and confirmed by the devices and characters of some of Beharâm's coins, but at the same time believe an episode of the type of 'Practice makes perfect' story. Again, we must bear in mind, that Tabari, who lived 100 years before Firdousi, though he does not go into any details, confirms the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess.[2] Mirkhond confirms this story, not only on the authority of Tabari, but also on that of another historian, Ebn-Athir.[3]

Firdousi calls the Indian king Shankel or Shangel. It is likely, that the name is derived from Sangala, which was, at the time of Alexander's invasion of India, the capital of the Kathæi, an important tribe living between the Chenab and the Râvi.

III.

Now, not only do Tabari, Ebn-Athir, Mirkhond and other Mahomedan writers confirm the fact of Beharâm Gour's embassy to the court of an Indian Raja, but even (*a*) Indian books, (*b*) Indian coins, and (*c*) Indian monuments confirm the fact.

(*a*) According to Wilford,[4] the Âgni Purâna refers to the story of Beharâm Gour's marriage with an Indian princess. In his learned paper on Vicramaditya and Salivahana, he relates the Agni Purana story of Gand'harva, a heavenly chorister, who, having incurred Indra's displeasure, was doomed to assume the shape of an ass. Though in the disguise of an ass, he performed a great extraordinary feat to convince the king Tamra-sena of his great power. Having then convinced him, he married his daughter and, after some time, disclosed himself in his original human shape. A son was born and he was the third Vicramaditya. Having described this Agni Purana story at some length, Wilford says: "This is obviously the history of Yesdejird, son of Bahrâm Gor, or Bahrâm the ass, king of Persia: the grand features are the same, and the times coincide perfectly. The amours of Bahrâm Gor with an Indian princess are famous all over Persia as well as in India."[1]

---

[1] Vol. I., p. 93.

[2] Chronique de Tabari par Zotenberg Tome II., pp. 123-125.

[3] Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, par Silvestre De Sacy, p. 337.

[4] Asiatic Researches, IX., pp. 147-151.

In order to uphold his theory, that the third Vicramaditya, son of Gand'harva, known as Gadhâ-rupa (*i.e.*, the ass-shaped) in the spoken dialects, was the same as Yesdejird, son of Beharâm Gour, king of Persia, Wilford[2] produces several facts of similarity in their Indian and Persian stories.

1. As Vicrama was the son of Gadhâ-rupa, *i.e.*, the man with the countenance of an ass, so Yezdejird was the son of Beharâm Gour, *i.e.*, Beharâm the ass, who was so-called from the fact of his great fondness for hunting wild asses.

2. The father of Gadhâ-rupa was, according to the Ayin-i-Akbari, Ati-Brahmâ,[3] and the father of Beharâm Gour was Yezdejird who was called Athim.[4] Thus the Indian Ati-Brahmâ was the same as Persian Athim.

3. The grandfather of Gadhâ-rupa was Brahmâ.[5] And Beharâm Gour's grandfather was another Bahrâm. So the Indian Brahmâ was the same as Persian Bahrâm.

4. Gadhâ-rupa had "incurred the displeasure of Indra, king of the elevated grounds of Meru or Turkestan, and was doomed by him to assume the shape of an ass, in the lower regions. Bahrâm Gour, or the ass, likewise incurred the displeasure of the Khâcan or mortal king of Meru.'"[6] I think the parallel instance of Beharâm Gour's incurring displeasure, which Wilford has referred to above, is not a proper instance, since we learn from the Shâh-nâmeh that the Khâkân of Chin's invasion of the country of Persia, was no way the result of any special displeasure incurred by Beharâm Gour. According to Firdousi, the Khâkân seems to have thought of invading the Persian territories, on finding that Beharâm Gour was occupied a good deal in pleasure and enjoyment, and had neglected

---

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 149-150.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 150-151.

[3] Atbirmah. "Gladwin's Translation of Ayeen-Akbery," Vol. II., p. 49.

[4] Chronique de Tabari par Zotenberg, Vol. II., p. 103.

[5] Birmahraj. "Gladwin's Ayeen-Akbery," Vol. II., p. 49.

[6] Asiatic Researches, IX., p. 151.

the proper protection of his territories from foreign invasions. But, if one were to look in the life of Beharâm, for a proper instance of incurring displeasure, it was that, presented by his falling into the disfavour of his father Yezdijird. One day, when the king was holding his court, Beharâm being too much fatigued, fell asleep in the court. This enraged his royal father, who ordered him to be imprisoned.

5. As Gadhâ-rupa was in disguise, when he married the king's daughter, so was Beharâm Gour in disguise, when he married the Indian king's daughter.

These are the five facts referred to by Wilford, to support his theory, that the Gadhâ-rupa of Indian history was the same as Beharâm Gour of Persian history. To these points of similarity pointed out by Wilford, I will add a few more—

1. Wilford says, that several learned Pandits informed him, that "this Gandharva's name was Jayanta."[1] If we take the word to be Sanskrit जयेन *i.e.*, victorious, the Indian name carries the same signification, as the Persian name Beharâm, which is the same as the Avesta word "Verethragna," Pahlavi "Varharân," and means victorious. So the Indian name Jayanta (or rather Jayana) is another form of the Persian name Beharâm.

2. Again, both had to perform an extraordinary feat before winning over the favours of their fathers-in-law. Gadhâ-rupa had to turn the walls of his father-in-law's "city and those of the houses into brass"[2] before sunrise next day. Beharâm Gour had not such a physically impossible task before him. But, besides showing other feats of physical strength, he had to kill a wolf and a dragon of extraordinary size and strength, which were much dreaded by the people in the neighbourhood.

3. According to Wilford, Ferishta represents the father of the damsel as the "Emperor of India and residing at Canouge."[3] And we find from the Shâh-nâmeh, that Firdousi also represents the father of Beharâm Gour's Indian queen, as the king of Hind and as residing at Kanouj.

4. Again, as Wilford[4] says, according to the Agni Purâna, the father of the damsel is called Sadasvasena, and, according to Firdousi's Shâh-nâmeh, the father of Beharâm Gour's Indian queen is called Sangel or Sankel. There seems to be a similarity in these names.

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 148. [2] *Ibid*, p. 148. [3] *Ibid*, p. 149. [4] *Ibid*, p. 149.

5. Again, may I ask, "Is there not any similarity between the name of Oojen (Ujjayini), where, according to Ayeen-Akbari, Gadhâ-rupa's father-in-law is known as Sundersena, and that of Oujon in Persia, where, according to Kerr Porter,[1] the Persian traditions placed the hunting scenes of Beharâm Gour?

Wilford says that the Hindus "shew, to this day (1809), the place where he (Beharâm Gour or Gadhâ-rupa) lived, about one day's march to the north of Baroach, with the ruins of his palace. In old records, this place is called Gad'hendra-puri or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is Goshêrâ or Ghojârâ for Ghosha-râyâ or Ghosha-râja: for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants, being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into Ghoshera, which has no meaning."[2]

According to Firdousi, Sangel, the father-in-law of Beharâm Gour, had made what we should call a 'will' in Hindi characters, "which somewhat resembled the Pahlavi characters." In it he said, "I have given Sepinud in marriage to King Beharâm with proper religious rites and not by way of anger or out of revenge. I have entrusted her to this illustrious sovereign. May this Emperor live long. May the great men of the world be obedient to him. When I pass away from this transient world, King Beharâm shall be the King of Kanouj. Do not turn away from the orders of this monarch. Carry my dead body to the fire. Give all my treasures, all my country, my crown, my throne, and my royal helmet to King Beharâm."[3]

Thus we see, that, according to Firdousi, the throne of Kanouj passed by virtue of its Hindu king's last testament, to the Persian king Beharâm Gour and his heirs. This confirms what Wilford says that "The dynasty of the Gardabhinas is probably that of the descendants and successors of Bahrâm Gur in Persia. The Princes in the north-western parts of India were vassals of the Persian kings, at a very early period; and the father-in-law of Bahrâm Gur used to send a yearly tribute to them."[4]

To support his theory, that the dynasty of the Gardabhinas was probably that of the descendants and successors of Beharâm Gour in Persia, Wilford[5] gives other instances of Indian tribes and dynasties, that had descended from the Persian stock. Shirovyeh or Kobâd, the son of Khosru Purviz, had ordered, somewhat against his wish, seventeen of his brothers (fifteen according to Firdousi), to be put to death. It was believed in the West, *i.e.*, in Persia; that they were so murdered. Firdousi says that they were so murdered, and that Khosru wept bitterly when he heard this. But other authors[1] say that it was merely a ruse, and that they were in fact sent away to India. "There is hardly any doubt," says Wilford, "that the kings of Oudypoor and the Marháttas, are decended from them (the Persian princes) and their followers."[2] Mr. William Hunter, in his narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein in 1790,[3] says, "The Raja of Oudipoor is looked on as the head of all the Rajpoot tribes, and has the title of Ráná by way of pre-eminence. His family is also regarded with high respect by the Musulmans themselves, in consequence of a curious tradition, relating to his genealogy. He is said to be descended, in the female line, from the celebrated Anushirwan who was king of Persia."

---

[1] Travels, Vol. II., pp. 13-15. [2] Asiatic Researches, IX., p. 151.

[3] Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1582. Mohl, small Edition, VI., pp. 53-54.

[4] Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX., p. 155. [5] *Ibid*, pp. 233-241

(*b*) Having shown at some length, that Indian books and traditions confirm the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess, the daughter of the King of Kanouj, we will now examine how far some of the old Indian coins support the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India. We are indebted to Prinsep for the valuable help on this subject. In his essay on Saurâshtra coins, he says that the type of that series of Indian coins is an "example of imitation of a Grecian original,"[4] and that "a comparison of these coins with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin,"[5] satisfactorily proves that. Then referring to several coins in that group (figs. 13-15, plate XXVII.), he says,[6] "The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarát 'Gadhiá-ká paisá,' 'Ass-money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramáditya, whose father Jayanta, one of the Gandharbas, or heavenly choristers, is reputed to have been cursed by Indra, and converted into an ass. Wilford, in his Essay on the Era of Vikramáditya (Asiatic Researches, IX., 155), endeavours to trace, in this story, the Persian fable of Bahrâm Gor's amours with an Indian princess, whence were descended the Gardabhina dynasty of Western India (gardabha being the Sanskrit equivalent for

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 156. [2] *Ibid*, p. 156. [3] Asiatic Researches, Vol. VI., p. 8.

[4] Essays on Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by E. Thomas, Vol. I., 335. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid*, pp 341-42.

gor, 'an ass'). The story is admitted into the prophetic chapters of the Agni-purána, and is supported by traditions all over the country. Remains of the palace of this Vikrama are shewn in Gujarât, in Ujjain, and even at Benâres! The Hindûs insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambát or Cambay: and it is certain that the princes of those parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed the confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire-altar on the other; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots on figs. 13, 16, will prove.

. . . . Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Sauráshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Bahrâm Gor; supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni-purâná, that Vikrama, the son of Gadhárupa, should ascend the throne of Málvá (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chánakya or A. D. 441."

Thus we find that the legend on a set of old Indian coins, popularly known as 'Gadhia-ká paisa,' supports the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess.

(*c*) Lastly, coming to the old monuments of India, we find that some of the paintings at the Ajunta Caves support the fact of Beharâm Gour's visit to India. Mr. James Campbell thus describes one of the paintings in Cave XVII. at Ajunta.[1] "On the left end of the ante-chamber, below, a Buddha sits in the middle in the teaching posture; two celestial fly-flap-bearers stand by his side; and above are the usual angels on clouds bringing garlands. On the right side sit about sixteen friars, all bare-headed and dressed alike. Above them are three horses, on one of which is a man in Irânian dress with peaked cap, jerkin and trousers; and, in the background behind these, is an elephant on which sits a great lady with her children and servant behind her, all making obeisance to the Buddha. At the Buddha's feet, two chiefs sit making profound obeisance to the Buddha. . . . To the right and behind him are two with smaller crowns, the one to the right also on a cushion. To the left is another with a small crown, and, beyond him a decidedly, Persian personage, with high-peaked cap, short black beard and long hair; while in front of him a jewelled chieftain is seated. To the left are four horsemen, one bearded and completely clothed, probably a servant of the prince or chief. Behind the whole group are two more Sassanians and two horses, the riders in which have the Sassanian dress and peaked caps. Above are two elephants, on one of which is a man bare-headed, and with the Sassanian ribbons or banderoles, at the back of his neck, while, behind him, a curious-looking attendant makes obeisance. On the other elephant are several Sassanian people, all engaged in the same way, while three pennants are carried over their heads and three spears in front, with tassels attached to them. In the background beyond this elephant, another fair Sassanian carries an umbrella. Mr. Fergusson considers that this scene represents Baharâm Gaur's (420—440) embassy to the king of Mâlwa."

---

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Khandeish, Vol. XII., p. 556.

Now, if this painting really commemorated the event of Beharâm Gour's embassy to India, as suggested by Fergusson, I think, it was the work of Beharâm Gour's father-in-law Shangel. We learn from Firdousi, that he was in the habit of paying annual visits to a sacred place in the vicinity, and that it was during one of such visits or pilgrimages that Beharâm Gour arranged with his queen Sepinud, to leave secretly the court of Shangel and to return to Persia. It is possible, that Ajunta was the place of the king's annual visits, and that, when he subsequently came to know of the royal descent of his son-in-law, he caused a painting of his royal embassy to be painted on one of the caves there. According to Firdousi, the place of pilgrimage was 20 farsangs, *i.e.*, about 60 miles from Kanouj. Of course, this distance falls much short of the actual distance between the places now known as Kanouj and Ajunta, but it is possible, that Firdousi meant to say 20 farsangs from the furthest limit of Kanouj which was then an extensive province. Again, it is possible that Firdousi, when he speaks of the place as that of (بت) Bút-worship (idol-worship), means Budha worship.[1]

---

[1] Calcutta Edition, III., p. 1574; Mohl, small edition, VI., p. 40.

Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess.

[*Read* 21*st November* 1895. *The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy in the Chair.*]

India is the original home of the game of chess. From India, it was introduced into Persia, in the time of the great Noushiravân or Chosroes I. The Arabs, who subsequently conquered Persia, introduced it into Spain, on their conquest of the country. Spain spread it into other parts of Europe. Though some seem to be of opinion, that it was the Crusaders, who brought it from the East, many are of opinion, that it was known in Europe, long before the Crusades, and that it was known in England before the Norman conquest.

As to its Indian origin, Sir William Jones in his paper[1] "On the Indian Game of Chess," says, "If evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the Hindus, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the west of India, together with the charming fables of Vishnusarman, in the fifth century of our era . . . . . ."

The object of this paper is to adduce the testimony of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Persian writers, as to the Indian origin of the game. Sir W. Jones makes a passing allusion to Firdousi, but does not give his version of the origin. Further on, Sir William Jones says,[2] "Of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in India, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the Brâhmans. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that Sanskrit books on Chess exist in this country; and if they can be procured at Benâres, they will assuredly be sent to us."

---

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 159.

[2] *Ibid*, p 160.

I do not know, if since Sir W. Jones wrote the above, any Sanskrit writing has been brought to light, which would give in detail a description of the origin of the game, and an account as to why this game was invented. If a Sanskrit work of the kind has been brought to light, it will be of some use to see, how far the following version of Firdousi, about the circumstances which led to the invention of this game, was right.

Firdousi gives this version on the authority of one Shahui (شاهوی) a wise old man :—

"There lived a king in India, Jamhour (جمهور) by name, who was more valiant than Fuor (فور).[1] He was an intelligent and wise monarch, whose territory extended from Kashmir in the west to China in the east. He had his capital at a place called Sandali (سندلی). The king had a wife who was equally intelligent and wise. The queen gave birth to a prince as beautiful as the moon. The king named the child Gau (گو). A short time after the birth of the prince, king Jamhour died, conveying his last wishes to his queen. The civil and military authorities of the State met together and after some consultation resolved, that as the prince was a minor, and, as such, was not capable of carrying on the affairs of the State, the crown be bequeathed upon Mâi (مای), a brother of the late king, who lived in Dambar (دنبر). Mâi accepted the throne and came to Sandali from Dambar. After ascending the throne, he married the wife of his deceased brother,[2] and a son was born, whom he named Talhend (طلخند). When the child grew two years old and Gau seven years old, king Mâi fell ill and died within fifteen days of his illness. The nobles of the State met together and resolved, that up to the time when the two princes came to age, the throne be entrusted to the queen, who had all along shown herself to be virtuous and wise. The queen ascended the throne and entrusted the two princes to the care of two learned men to be properly educated. When the princes grew up, they separately went to their mother and asked her, which of her two sons, she found to be nobler and worthier than the other. She evaded the question, saying in a general way, that in order to deserve her approbation, they must be as temperate, courteous and wise, as befitted the sons of a king. Then again they went separately to her and asked her, to which of the two sons she would entrust the throne. She said to each of them in turn, that he was entitled to the throne on account of his wisdom. Thus, both the princes came to age with their minds filled up with the ambition of being the future rulers of the country. Their respective teachers fanned the fire of this ambition. They looked with jealousy at each other. The noble men of the Court and the people divided themselves into two factions, one supporting the cause of Gau and the other that of Talhend. One day both the brothers went together to their royal mother, and asked her, which of the two sons she found to be worthy of the throne. In reply, she asked them to be patient and to submit the question to the leading men of the State for a peaceful settlement. Gau, who was the elder of the two, did not like this reply and asked her to decide that question herself. He said, "If you do not find me worthy of the throne of my father, say so, and give the throne to Talhend, and I will submit myself to him. But if you find me better qualified by my age and wisdom, ask Talhend to give up his claim to the throne." The mother said in reply, that though he (Gau), being older than the other brother, had a better right to the throne, it was better for him to settle the question of succession peacefully with his younger brother. Talhend, however, did not like even this qualified expression of opinion by his royal mother in favour of Gau on account of his being elder of the two, and said that age did not always carry with it any kind of superiority, and that in civil and military appointments, it was not always the aged who occupied high positions. He said, that as his father Mâi was the last occupant of the throne, he had every right to the throne as his heir and successor. The royal mother thereupon called upon him not to lose his temper and to take, what she had said, in the spirit, in which she had uttered. She said that she treated both the brothers impartially and fairly, and thereupon distributed equally among them, all the royal treasures, that she had under her control.

---

[1] Porus, who was defeated by Alexander.

[2] This allusion shows, that widow marriage was not prohibited in Northern India, in the time of Noushiravân, in the sixth century after Christ.

The two brothers then resolved to submit the question of succession to the arbitration of their tutors. But the tutors, being interested in the elevation to power of their respective pupils, did not come to any decision. Then the princes got two thrones placed in the audience hall and sent for the nobles of the State and asked them to settle the question; but as the court was equally divided, it was difficult to do so. Then, the last resort was to submit the question to war. Before making any preparations for war, Gau requested his brother to withdraw from the contest, saying that the throne of Jamhour passed to Mâi, only during his minority, and that Mâi was no more than a regent, and that therefore he (Gau) was entitled to the throne. Talhend did not attend to this and prepared for war. Both the brothers collected their armies, and before the commencement of the battle, Gau once more requested his younger brother, through a messenger, to give up the contest. He also suggested the alternative of dividing the kingdom into two parts. But all this was of no avail, as Talhend was bent upon fighting. Gau sent for his preceptor and asked his advice over the state of affairs at this crisis. The preceptor adviced his royal pupil to once more try his best to win over his brother, by offering him all the royal treasures, except the throne and the royal seal. Gau sent a special messenger to Talhend offering all these, but it was of no avail.

Before giving the final orders to commence fighting, Gau said a few words of encouragement to his soldiers and asked them to take Talhend prisoner, but not to kill him or wound him. On the other side, Talhend also gave a similar order to his soldiers. A bloody battle was fought, in which the army of Talhend received a crushing defeat. At the end of the battle, Gau once more asked his brother to give up the hopeless contest, but Talhend paid no attention to his request and retired from the battle-field to a place called Marg and collected another large army, paying men very liberally for their services. He then sent an insulting message to his elder brother Gau, and said that he was willing to fight again. At the instance of his preceptor, Gau sent a peaceful reply, offering terms of peace to his brother. Talhend called a council of war and submitted the terms offered by his brother for consideration. In the end, they resolved to fight again. A second bloody and fierce battle was fought, wherein Talhend was found dead, over his elephant, through great exhaustion, consequent upon hard work, and want of food and water for a long time. Gau, not seeing his brother in the midst of the army, sent his men to inquire, and they found him dead upon the back of his elephant. Gau lamented long for the death of his brother. When the queen heard of the death of her younger son, she lost herself in profound grief. She went to Talhend's palace and burnt his crown and throne as signs of mourning, and then burnt his body according to the customs of the Hindus.

Gau, when he heard of the grief of his mother, went to her and consoled her, saying, that he had no hand in the death of his brother, that he had done his best to dissuade him from fighting, that he had given all possible instructions to his army not to kill or wound him, and that he was found dead on the elephant, without in the least being wounded by anybody. The mother could not believe the fact, that Talhend was found dead on the back of his elephant, and that he died of exhaustion without being killed or wounded by any one in the turmoil of the battle. She thought, that a case like that was impossible and suspected some foul play. Gau thereupon asked his mother to be patient for some time, in order that he may prove to her satisfaction, that a death, like that of Talhend, was possible in a battle-field, and that neither he nor anybody else had any hand in his death. He said, that by some contrivance he would prove to her satisfaction, that the death of a king, on the back of his elephant, in the midst of a battle, on being shut up on all sides, and without being either killed or wounded by anybody, was quite possible. He added, that if he could not prove that, he was ready to burn himself. The mother thereupon desired to be shown how such a death was possible, and said, that if that could not be shown to her satisfaction, she would prefer burning herself rather than that her son Gau should burn himself. Gau thereupon returned to his palace, and told his preceptor all that had passed between him and his mother. The preceptor advised the king to call a council of learned men from different parts of the country, such as Cashmere, Dambar, Marg and Mâi, and to ask them to devise some means or contrivance, by which the queen can be consoled for the death of her younger son, and by which, it can be shown to her, that the death of a king, without either being wounded or killed in a battle, was quite possible, and that it might be brought about by being shut up on all sides and consequently through exhaustion and want of food and water.

Gau accordingly sent messengers all round and called a council of the learned men of the country. The preceptor of the king explained to them the whole state of affairs and then described the battle-field on which the battle between the two brothers was fought and the position of the different armies and generals. On learning all the particulars, the learned men, and especially two among them, invented the game of chess, wherein one could see how one of the two kings, without being slain, was shut up on all sides by the army of his opponent and lost the battle or the game.

I give below Firdousi's description of the game, to enable the players of the modern game, to see how far their method of play resembled that described by Firdousi as the Indian method. In giving my translation I follow the text of Mohl (Vol. VI., p. 442, l. 3397). "Two great and good-natured men prepared a square board of ebony wood. It represented ditches and a battle-field on which two armies had met face to face. They painted 100 squares on that board for the movement of the army and the king. Then they prepared two armies out of teakwood and ivory and two exalted kings with dignity and crown. Over it, the footmen and the horsemen were drawn in two lines prepared for the battle. Horses and elephants, the Dastur of the king and the warriors, who ride their horses in the midst of an army, all presented the picture of warfare, some marching fast and at a gallop and others going at a slow pace. The king led the centre of the army, having his well-wishing minister on one hand. On the two sides of the hand of the king, were two elephants. The movements of the elephant raised the dust of the colour of the water of the river Nile. On the sides of the two elephants were standing two camels, having two intelligent persons for their riders. On the sides of the camels were two horses and two riders, who could fight on the day of battle. On the sides of the two lines of the army were two warlike rooks, with all foam over the lips, being excited for the battle. The foot solder moved here and there, because in the midst of the battle, it was he who provided help. When one of these (foot-soldiers) succeeded in going to the other end of the battle-field, he had the right of sitting by the side of the king as his adviser.

"The adviser (or the vazir) cannot move in the midst of the battle more than one square away from the king. The exalted elephant moved three squares and he looked across the whole battle-field up to a distance of two miles; similarly the camel also moved three squares, moving pompously and majestically over the battle-field. The horse also moved three squares, one of which was out of the way. Nobody dared to go before the rook, which ran over the whole of the battle-field, looking for revenge. Everybody moved within the sphere of his own plain; none moved more or less. When somebody saw the king within his reach, he called out "Hold off, oh king!" The king then moved away and away from his square, until he had no more room to move. Then the rook, the horse, the minister, the elephant and the foot-soldiers all shut up the way of the king. He looked round in all the four directions and found his army defeated with their eye-brows dejected. He found his way shut up by water and ditches. On his left and right, in front of him and behind him, were the soldiers of the enemy. Out of fatigue and thirst the king perished. This was the lot, that he had obtained from the revolving heavens."

We find from these details of Firdousi, that among the ancient Hindoos, the chess-board was made up of 100 squares, instead of 84, as we have at present. In the modern method the following pieces make up the first line of eight squares:—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Rook or castle, knight, bishop, queen, king, bishop, knight, rook or castle.

But in the old Indian method, as there were 100 squares, ten pieces formed the first line in the following order. To use Firdousi's words:—

Rook, horse, camel, elephant, Dastur, king, elephant, camel, horse, rook.

To use modern words:—

Rook, knight, bishop, castle, queen, king, castle, bishop, knight, rook.

We thus find, that, while in the ancient game, the rook and the castle formed two different sets of pieces, in the modern game, they are combined into one. The very fact, that while all the different kinds of pieces in the modern game have one name, the piece representing the rook or castle has two alternative names, shows that in the ancient Indian game, rook and castle represented two different pieces, but latterly they were made to represent one and the same piece. It appears, that it was in Persia, that the amalgamation was first made, because the Pahlavi Madigân-i-Chatrang, of which we will speak later on, speaks of 16 pieces on each side of the board, and not of 20, as suggested by the description of Firdousi.

We give below the English names of the different pieces and their Persian equivalents as given by Firdousi :—

English	Firdousi's.
King	شاه (*i. e.*, king).
Queen	فرزانه[1] (*i.e.*, vazir) or دستور شاه (*i.e.*, the bishop or adviser of the king).
Bishop	شُتُر (camel).
Knight	اسپ (horse).
Castle	پیل (elephant).
Rook	رخ (rook).
Pawn	پیاده (foot soldier).

In the modern game, the queen, as the adviser of the king, occupies the second place of honour, which in the old game was occupied by the Dastur, *i. e.*, the minister or the bishop of the king. The name bishop, given to one of the pieces in the modern English game, seems to me to have been taken from the old Persian game, where, according to Firdousi, his equivalent was Dastur. But these two pieces have changed their places in their respective games.

Again, Sir William Jones[2] refers to a description of the game of chess in the Bhawishya Purân, "in which Yudhisht'hir is represented conversing with Vyâsa, who explains, at the king's request, the form of the fictitious warfare, and the principal rules of it." In that description a boat forms one of the pieces of the game. Sir William Jones[3] refers to that and says: "A ship or boat is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the *rat'h*, or armed chariot, which the Bengalese pronounce *rot'h*, and which the Persians changed into *rokh*, whence came the *rook* of some European nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the French are supposed to be corruptions of *fers* and *fil*, the prime minister and elephant of the Persians and Arabs. . . . I cannot agree with my friend Râdhâcânt, that a ship is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare instead of a chariot, in which the old Indian warriors constantly fought; for, though the king might be supposed to sit in a car, so that the four *angas* would be complete, and though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the Indian as it is on the Chinese chess-board." But Firdousi's version throws some light on this subject, because, we find from his description of the Indian game given above, that ditches and water were represented on the ancient Indian chess-board.

---

[1] Vazir in modern Persian.

[2] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 160.

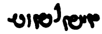
[3] *Ibid*, p. 161.

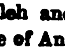
The game of chess, thus showed, that it was possible for a king to be shut up on all sides in a battle-field, and to die out of mere exhaustion and through thirst and hunger without being killed or wounded by anybody. Gau showed the game to his royal mother, and explained, how it was possible for Talhend to have died on the battlefield through exhaustion, thirst and hunger, without being killed or wounded by any of his soldiers. Thereafter, the queen, whenever she remembered the death of her departed son, Talhend, sought to drown her grief in this game of chess. "She always liked the game of chess because she was always sorry for the death of Talhend. She often shed tears of grief and in that case the game of chess was the only remedy for her grief."

Thus, we learn from Firdousi, that it was to console a royal mother, that an Indian prince had invented the game of chess. We will now briefly see how, according to Firdousi, the game was introduced into Persia from India.

One day, there came to Noushiravân (Chosroes I.) of Persia, a messenger[1] from India, carrying with him Indian elephants, Sindhi horses and various Indian curiosities, as presents for the Persian king from an Indian Raja.[2] He also carried a very handsome and costly chess-board and a letter from the Râjâ to the Shâh of Persia. The messenger presented all these on behalf of his royal master to Noushiravân, and communicated an oral message which said: "May you live as long as the heaven lasts. Order those who are very

---

[1] We have an older authority, which, though it does not say how the game of chess was invented, supports Firdousi in his description, as to how the game was introduced in Persia. It is the Pahlavi treatise, known as the Madigân-i-Chatrang, for the text and translation of which, we are indebted to Dastur Dr. Peshotan Byramjee Sanjânâ. Though the Pahlavi account is much shorter than Firdousi's, and though there are several points of difference, the two accounts agree in their main features. This Pahlavi treatise gives the name of the messenger as Takhtaritus. I give the name, as it is read by Dastur Dr. Peshotan, but the word  can be read in various other ways.

[2] The Mâligân-i-Chatrang gives the name of the Indian Râjâ as Devsâram. The word  can be read in various other ways, and I choose to read it as Dipislim, which is the same as Dabislim, the well-known king of the book of Kalileh and Damneh or the story of Bidpâe, otherwise known under its later name of Anvâr-e-Sohili.

wise in your Majesty's Court to place this chess-board before them, and to find out the method of playing this game. Let them determine the names of the different pieces, and the way, how to move them in the different squares, and how to regulate the courses of the elephant, the horse, the rook, the Vizier and the king. If your Majesty's courtiers will succeed in discovering the method of playing this game, we will acknowledge your suzerainty and give you the tribute, which your Majesty demands. But, if the wise men of Iran are not able to discover the method of playing this game, then, as they are not able to stand with us in point of wisdom, they should cease asking from us any tribute. Not only that, but in that case, Iran should undertake to pay tribute to India, because of all things, knowledge is the best." [1]

The message having ended, the chess-board was arranged before king Noushiravân who began to look at it very eagerly. The messenger then, on being asked by the king, said that the game portrayed the scene of a battle, and that the king, if he was able to discover the method of playing it, would find therefrom, the details of a battle. Noushiravân asked for a period of seven days,[2] by the end of which time, he said, he would discover the method of playing the game.

The noblemen and the officers of the king's court then tried their best to discover the method, but they all failed. The king was very sorry, lest it would throw a slur upon his royal court, that it possessed not a single clever soul, who could solve the mysteries of an Indian game. But then Buzarjameher, the chief adviser of the king, rose to the occasion, and undertook to solve the mystery of the game. He studied it for one day and night and then discovered the method of playing it. Having communicated his success to his royal master, the latter called an assembly, wherein he invited the Indian messenger to be present. Buzarjameher made the Indian messenger repeat the conditions of the treaty offered by the Indian Râjâ, *viz.*, that in case, an Irânian discovered the method of playing the game, the king of Persia had the right of suzerainty upon the Indian Râjâ, and then he arranged the game and showed to the messenger the method of playing it.[1] The whole of the assembly and the messenger were struck with astonishment at the intelligence displayed by the minister of the king. The king was much pleased with him and rewarded him very liberally.

---

[1] The message, as given in the Pahlavi treatise, runs thus :—

"As you deem yourself to be the king of all the rest of us kings, and hold the title of emperor (over us), the wise men of your court ought also to surpass those of ours. Hence you should send us an exposition of this game of chess (which is sent herewith) and, if you fail to do so, you should give us tribute and the fourth part of your revenues."—Dr. Peshotan's Ganj Shâyagân, Mâdigân-i-Chatrang, p. 1.

[2] The Pahlavi treatise gives three days. (*Ibid*, p. 2.)

Firdousi thereafter adds that this Buzarjameher, in his turn, invented another game called the game of Nard[2] (نرد), a game like that of draughts or backgammon and carried it to India to test the intelligence of the Indian Brâhmans, if they could solve its mysteries and discover the meaning and the mystery of the game. The Indian Râjâ asked a period of seven days[3] to try to discover the method. But the Hindoo sages in the end failed to discover the mystery of the game.

The modern Indian name of the game of chess is "Shatranj," which Sir William Jones derives as follows from its original Sanskrit word:—

"It seems to have been immemorially known in Hindustan by the name of Chatur-anga, that is, the four 'angas' or members, of an army . . . . (*viz*) elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers. . . By a natural corruption of the pure Sanscrit word, it was changed by the old Persians into Chatrang;[4] but the Arabs, who soon after took possession of the country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into 'Shtranj,' which found its way presently into the modern Persian, and at length into the dialects of India, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned. Thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the Brahmans been transformed by successive changes into axedrez, scacchi, échecs, chess; and by a whimsical occurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word check, and even a name to the Exchequer of Great Britain.[1]"

---

[1] The Pahlavi treatise says that he played twelve games with the Indian envoy and won all of them.

[2] According to the Madigân-i-Chatrang, the name of the game was Vin-i-Artashir [illegible]. It was so called, in honour of Ardeshir Bâbegan, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

[3] According to the Pahlavi account 40 days.

[4] It is so named in the Pahlavi work Madigân-i-Chatrang.

Several modern dictionaries derive the word chess from Persian 'Shah,' *i. e.*, king. This mistaken etymology seems to have begun from the time the Arabs introduced the play into Europe, because having corrupted in their pronunciation the original word Chatrang into Shatranj, they derived the word from Persian 'Shah' (king) and 'ranj' (trouble), and gave it the meaning of "the trouble or the difficulty of the king," because the chief point in the play rests upon shutting up the moves of the king.

Before concluding this paper, we will briefly speak of two other versions about the origin and discovery of the game of chess. One of these versions is given by Caxton, the first English printer in his book "The Game of Chess," which was the second book printed in England (1474).[2]

According to Caxton's work which was the translation of a French book, which, in its turn was taken from the Latin, the game of chess was discovered in the time of "a king in Babilon that was named Enylmerodach a jolye man without justyse and so cruel that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that men calle voultres." (Part I. ch. I.)

It was discovered by a philosopher of the East named Excerses in Chaldaic and Philometer in Greek. Philometer in Greek meant "lover of justice or measure." The philosopher, true to his name, was no flatterer, and hated the evil and vicious life of king Enylmerodach (evil Merodach). The king put to death, all those who dared to advise him and to remonstrate with him for his injustice and cruelty. So, when the people requested[3] this philosopher to approach the king and advise him, he found himself in a difficulty. On being pressed to undertake, even at the risk of his life, that important task which would immortalise his name, the philosopher consented. "And thenne, he began to thynke hym in what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse and thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeygned the eschequer of 64 poyntes."

---

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 159.

[2] Caxton's game of Chesse. Facsimile 1862.

[3] Caxton, Part IV., Chap. VII.

Having thus discovered the game, the philosopher began to play it with the barons, knights and gentlemen of the court of the king, who all liked it very much. The king once saw the philosopher playing the game. He liked it and wanted to play with the philosopher. The latter said that the king must first learn it thoroughly from him. The king consented. The philosopher began to teach it to him, and in so doing, dwelt at some length, upon the duties of the different officers of the State, that were represented on the chess-board. He dwelt at great length upon the duties and responsibilities of a good king, and at length advised the king to "amende hymself and become vertuous." The king thereupon demanded "upon payn of deth to telle hym wherefore he had founden and maad this playe and he answerd 'my right dere lord and kyng, the grettest and most thyng that I desire is that thou have in thyself a glorious and vertuous lyf. . . . Thus than I desire that thou have other gouernment thene thou hast had, and that thou have upon thyself first seignourie and maistrie suche as thou hast upon other by force and not by right. Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maister over other and comandour whe he cannot rewle nor may rewle hymself and that his vertues domyne above his vyces, for seignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure. Thenne thus may thou see oon of the causes why and wherefore I have founden and maad this playe, whiche is for to correcte and repreve the of thy tyrannye and vicious lyuying." [1]

Having thus described at some length, the first cause, why he had discovered the game to improve the king, the philosopher said that "the second cause wherefore this playe was founden and maad was for to kepe him from ydlenesse, wherof Seneque sayth unto Lucylle ydlenes without any ocupacion is sepulture of a man lyuyng." The philosopher made a few remarks as to idleness leading a man to an evil and sinful life, and said that the third cause why he had discovered the game was to remove "pensifnes and thoughtes" from the mind of the player.

The king having heard all these causes thought "that the philosopher had founde a good maner of correccion and than he thankyd hym gretely and thus by the signement and learnyng of the philosopher, he chaunged his lif, his maners and alle his euyll condicions." Part IV., ch. 8.

---

[1] Caxton, Part I, Chap. III.

Now, though the two versions about the cause, which led to the discovery of the game, are different, I think that the Greek Philometor, referred to by Caxton, is the same as Persian Buzarjameher. The Greek name according to Caxton means "lover of justice," and the Persian word means "great in justice." The Greek *matron* is the same as Persian *meher.*

Now, before giving this version of the cause, why the game of chess was discovered, Caxton's work, though it does not believe the statement, alludes to one other version. It says that some men say "that this play was founden in the tyme of the Vataylles and siege of Troye."[1] This reminds us of what Sir William Jones[2] says of his being told "that this game is mentioned in the oldest law books, and that it was invented by the wife of Rávan, king of Lânca, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by Râma in the second age of the world."

These two latter versions, the European version and the Indian version, which give to the siege of Troy and to the siege of Lanca respectively, the credit of having originated the discovery of the game of chess, are very striking, because they add one more link to the number of facts, which have been advanced to show, that there is a striking resemblance between the Indian episode of Sitá and Rávan in the Râmâyan and the Greek episode of Helen and Paris in the Illiad.[3]

---

[1] Part I., chap. I.

[2] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 160.

[3] (૧) શાહનામાં મધેનું એક દાસ્તાન, અને રામાયણ તથા ઈલ્યડની વાર્તાઓ સાથ તેની સરખામણી જ્ઞાન પ્રસારક મંડળીની સને ૧૮૮૮-૮૯ નાં મોસમના ભાષણો ભાષણ્યા છપ્યુ. A lecture by Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai; *vide* also a lecture by Prof. Macmillan on the subject.

Cashmere and the Ancient Persians.

[*Read 9th December* 1895. *Dr. P. Peterson in the Chair.*]

M. Troyer in his Râdjatarangini[1] says that "In all the geographical notices of the ancients, Kachmir appears to have been joined to India." This is, to a very great extent, true of the geographical notices of Cashmere in the ancient Iranian literature.

I.

In the times of the Avesta, the modern regions of Cashmere, Panjâb and Scinde, which are watered by the great Indus and its tributaries, were included in the region, known by the name of Hapta Hindu (𐬵𐬀𐬞𐬙𐬀 𐬵𐬌𐬧𐬛𐬎), the Septa Sindhu (सप्त सिन्धु) of the Vedas. As the Avestic and Vedic names Hapta-Hindu and Sapta-Sindhu signify, the Indus then had seven tributaries. The ancient Greeks and the ancient Hindus had given the following names to the seven tributaries :—

Vedic names.	Greek.	Modern.	In the Mahâbhârata.[2]
Sindhu ...	Indus ..	Sindhu ...	
Vitastâ ..	Hydaspes ..	Jhelum ...	Vitastâ.
Asikani ..	Akesinis ...	Chenaub ...	Tchandrabhâga.
Parushani ...	Hydraortes ...	Ravi	Airavati.
Vipâs	Hyphasis ..	Biyâ	Vipasa.
Satâdhru ...	Hesydrus ...	Sutlej ..	Satadru.
Kubhâ ...	Kophen ...		

By the time, when the Pahlavi writers wrote their commentaries of the Avesta Vendidad, which mentions the name of this country as Hapta Hindu, some of the tributaries were united, and their number was reduced to five, which has given the country its comparatively modern name of Panjnaddy or Panjâb, *i.e.*, the country of five rivers. That such was the case, appears from the fact, that the Pahlavi commentators, not finding, in their time, the number of the tributaries to be seven, as indicated by their Avestic name, Hapta-Hindu, try to explain the name in a different way. They say[3] "It is called

---

[1] Râdjatarangini. Histoire des Rois du Kachmir, Vol. II., p. 308.

[2] *Ibid.*, II., p. 317.

[3] (Spiegel, Pahlavi Vendidâd, p. 7, l. 1) [illegible]

Hapta-Hindu because there are seven rulers over it (*avash haft Hindukanih hanâ âigh sar-khudâ haft aît*)." Again, it appears, that during the time of the Pahlavi commentators, the limit of the country of the Hapta-Hindu, that is, of the country watered by the seven tributaries of the Indus, had immensely increased. Hence it is, that they add, though not definitely and clearly, that "the country of Hindustan extends from east to west." (*Hacha ushastara Hendva avi daôshastarem Hendum. Spiegel, p. 7, l. 3*).

It is very strange, that though the country of India has continued to be occupied by the followers of the writers of the Vedas, who called it Sindhu, the country has continued to be known by its ancient Irânian name of Hindustân, and not by that of Sindhustân, as it should have been called from Sindhu, the Vedic name of the Indus.

Cashmere, which has the sources of one of the tributaries of the Indus, the Jhelum,—the Hydaspes of the ancient Greeks, the Bydaspes of Ptolemy and the Vitastâ (वितस्ता) of the Vedas,—was then included in the above-named country of Hapta-Hindu. Unfortunately, the Irânian names of the tributaries of the Indus have not come down to us in the extant Irânian literature. But still, the names, Hydaspes, the Greek name of the Jhelum, and Bydaspes, the name given to it by Ptolemy, clearly show their Irânian origin. We know, that some of the rivers of ancient Persia derived their names from "aspa," *i.e.*, the horse, because their speed was considered to be as great as that of the horse.[1] Take, for example, the Hvaspa (𐬵𐬎𐬀𐬯𐬞𐬀), *i.e.*, the good-horsed (Yt. XIX. 67), which is thought to be the same as the Choaspes of the Greeks. The name, Hydaspes or Bydaspes, is another instance of a river deriving its name from Avestic aspa (𐬀𐬯𐬞𐬀 = S, अश्व = L. equus) a horse.

II.

Coming to the Pahlavi books, we find, that the Bundehesh speaks of Cashmere, as being situated in Hindustân.[2] It appears from this book, that, though far from the country of Persia, and though not under the direct rule of the Irânian kings, it was once a Zoroastrian country. The 29th chapter of this work speaks of the spiritual rulers or heads of different countries, whether ruled by Irân proper or not. In the latter class of countries, it names, among others, Kangdez, Pesyânsâi or the modern Peshin and Cashmere. Then it proceeds to name all the spiritual leaders, who had, at one time or another, ruled over these different places. But it omits to mention the name of the spiritual leader of Cashmere, thus showing, that very little of this country was known to the writer.

---

[1] *Vide* my paper on "Horse in ancient Iran." Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IV., No. 1.

[2] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], *i.e.*, Cashmere is in India. Justi, p. 70, l. 12 S. B. E., V. West Chap. XXIX., 15. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 149.

That Cashmere was once a Zoroastrian country, appears to us also from the Saddar, of which we have not the original Pahlavi with us. Cashmere is there mentioned, with three other localities, as a place where Zoroastrian religion once prevailed. As Dr. West says "These four localities are considered to be isolated from the seven regions to some extent, probably implying that they were supposed to contain Mazda-worshippers independent of Irânian rule, or that their position had become unknown."[1]

III.

Coming to Firdousi's Shâhnâmeh, we find, that the first mention of Cashmere in that work, is in the reign of Kaikhosru. Cashmere, then, seems to have been under the suzerainty of the king of Persia, because when the king, on ascending the throne, holds a grand review of his troops, Frâmroz, one of his generals, commands the soldiers of Kabul, Seistan and Cashmere.[2]

In the description of the long war of supremacy between Kaikhosru of Irân and Afrâsiâb of Turân, Cashmere is mentioned five times.[3] It seems, that Cashmere lay in the way of the march between Irân and Turân. When Afrâsiâb prepares for an invasion upon Persia, and when his army overruns the country from Cashmere to Scinde, Kaikhosru, the King of Irân, asks his general Rustam to go to the frontiers of Turân without halting in Cabul or Cashmere. The way, in which India and Cashmere are spoken of together, in some of these passages, confirms, what M. Troyer says in his Râdjatarangini, that the ancients always spoke of India and Cashmere together. At the end of the first campaign, when the Turânians suffer a defeat, and Pirân, their general, sues for peace, one of the terms of the treaty he proposes, is, that the Turânians should withdraw their army from Cashmere, and give up all claims whatsoever upon the country. Wilson, in his essay on the ancient history of Cashmere, based on Râdjatarangini, says, that the Tartar princes, spoken of in that work, were possibly some "individual adventurers who took advantage of the temporary confusion (caused by this and subsequent struggles between Irân and Turân) to establish themselves in Cashmir."[1]

---

[1] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIV., p. 269, Chap. X. 7. સદદરે બેહરે તવીલ, ભાગ ૧૩. દસતુરજી ડા. જામાસ્પજીએ પ્રગટ કરેલા તરજુમો (સને ૧૮૮૧) પાનું ૧૨૯.

[2] ازآن پس نبرده فرامرز بود
که با فر و با گرز و با ارز بود
ابا پیل و کوس، و سپاهی گران
همه جنگجویان کندآوران
ز کشمیر و از کابل و نیمروز
همه سرفرازان گیتی فروز
Mohl. II., p. 588.

[3] Mohl. III., pp. 76, 236, 420, 498, 508,

The Brâhmins of Cashmere, known as the Pandits, are reported, even to-day, to be good astrologers. We find an allusion to that in the Shâhnâmeh. Jâl had a son, named Shagâd, of whom it was predicted by the astrologers of Cashmere, that he would turn out a wicked man, and that he would bring about the ruin of his family. Firdousi says, that this turned out to be true, inasmuch as Shagâd conspired with the king of Cabul, to bring about the death of his own brother Rustam.[2]

During the reign of Beharâm-gour[3] (Beharâm V.), the king of Cashmere was a vassal of the king of Kanouj, called by Firdousi, king Shangel.

According to M. Troyer, the translator of the Râdjatarangini, it appears, that Shangel was a titulary name of all the kings of Kanouj, and that the real name of this Rajâ was Sadasu or Vesudhva, of the dynasty of kings known as the Bala Râis. When his Indian king visited the court of the Persian king, who had married his daughter, the king of Cashmere had accompanied him to Persia as one of his vassals.

Coming to the reign of Noushiravân (Chosroes I.), we find from an episode given by Firdousi in the account of his reign, that Cashmere then formed a part of the territories of an Indian king, named Jamhour[4] (جمهور). In the deliberations of his State affairs, the sages of Cashmere were often invited to take part.[5]

M. Troyer, in the third volume[6] of his Râdjatarangini, says, on the authority of some historians, that in the reign of Noushiravân,

---

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., p. 91.
[2] Mohl. IV., p. 704.
[3] Mohl. VI., p. 64.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 400.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 440.
[6] p.632.

Cashmere formed a part of a great Indian empire, which was invaded by a Persian army, and made to pay a tribute, but on the death of that monarch regained its independence from the Persian yoke. From Firdousi, we know very little of an actual invasion, but we know, that an invasion was threatened, in the case of a refusal of tribute. The Indian king, instead of trying to settle the question of tribute by a trial of the strength of arms, sought to settle it by a trial of the strength of intellect. He sent to the Persian king, a messenger with the game of chess, invented by the learned Pandits of his country, and asked that monarch to solve the mysteries of that game. If the Persian king or his courtiers succeeded in solving them, he promised to pay the desired tribute. A learned courtier of the Persian king, succeeded in solving the mysteries of that game and thus gained for his sovereign and his country the tribute from India.[1]

Proceeding further in the Shâhnâmeh, we find an allusion to Cashmere in the reign of Yezdajird. It seems, that Cashmere cloth was as well known to the ancient Persians, as it is now known to us for its warmth and durability.[2] Among the commissariat requisites, necessary for a new army, Yezdajird, the last of the Sassanian kings, mentions the cloth of Cashmere, in one of his letters to his feudal princes, whom he asks to meet at a particular place in Khorassan, to make another stand against the advancing power of the Arabs.

IV.

Having examined the few allusions to Cashmere in the Shâhnâmeh of Firdousi, we will notice here, the relation of the ancient Persians to Cashmere, referred to by Wilson in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir,"[3] on the authority of Bada-ud-din, the author of Goher-i Alem Tohfet us-Shahi and of other Mahomedan historians.[4] I have already alluded to a few in examining the references of Firdousi.

King Surendra, one of the kings of Cashmere of the first period, had, says Wilson on the authority of Mahomedan writers, "a daughter named Catpan Bhanu[5] of great beauty and accomplishments; the reputation of which induced Bahman, the son of Isfendiar, ... to solicit and obtain the princess in marriage."[6]

---

[1] *Vide supra* my paper on "Firdousi's version of the Indian Game of Chess." Mohl. VI., pp. 384-90.

[2] Mohl. VII., p. 462.

[3] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., pp. 1-119.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 5.

[5] *cf.* Pers. بانو.

[6] Asiatic Researches, XV., p. 18.

As to the authority for this statement, Wilson says, " It does not appear from what source they have derived this story, as it is not found in the Hindu records, nor in the historical romance of Firdausi . . . . Had there been any foundation for the tradition, it might have been of some chronological utility."[1] I think the source of this tradition is Bahman-nâmeh, *i.e.*, the book of Bahman, written according to M. Mohl, in the end of the eleventh or in the commencement of the twelfth century. It appears from the Bahman-nâmeh, that the fame of the beauty of the women of Cashmere had spread even in Persia. When the different advisers of the king advised him to marry one of the princesses of the different countries, which they liked best, Rustam pointed to Cashmere and advised his king to marry the princess of that country. Firdousi says, that Bahman had died a natural death,[2] but according to Bada-ud-din,[3] whose authority Wilson follows, he was murdered by the attendants of his Cashmiri queen, his marriage with whom, had proved very unhappy.

Again, it appears from the Bahman-nâmeh, that Cashmere was a place of refuge for the family of Rustam from the cruel hand of Bahman. His sisters and other relations ran away to Cashmere, when pursued by the followers of Bahman.[4]

According to Bada-ud-din,[5] Janaca, the third ruling prince of Cashmere after the above-named Surendra, had sent a Cashmiri army under his son, to invade Persia, then ruled over by Homai, the daughter of Bahman, but the army was repelled by Dârâb, the son of Bahman.

Jaloca, the third ruling prince after Janaca, had, according to Bada-ud-din, subjugated a part of the north of Persia then ruled over by Dârâb.[6]

In the long list of rulers who succeeded Jaloca, we have nothing special to record about the relations of the ancient Persians with

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 18.

[2] ببيماري اندر بمرد اردشير Mohl, V., p. 2٦, l. 1.

[3] Asiatic Researches, XV., p. 18 n.

[4] On the other side of Takht-i-Solomon, near Shrinagar, there is a place, called Rustamgari. A Pandit at the temple of Ragoonath Mandir, told me, that according to some, it is believed to have derived its name from Rustam. I was told by my syce at Islâmâbad that at Giljit, in Cashmere, a place was pointed out to him, as that, at which, according to tradition, Rustam was killed by the treachery of his brother Shagâd.

[5] Asiatic Researches, XV., p. 19.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 20.

Cashmere, until we come to the reign of Mihir Cula, the Mirkhul of the Âin-i-Akbari. The author of the Râdjatarangini depicts this king, as a wicked monarch, in whose reign, the Mlech'has had an ascendancy. He founded the temple of Mihiréswara and the city of Mihirapur, " in which the Gandhâr Brahmans, a low race, ... were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood."[1]

Now who were these गान्धारा ब्राह्मण of the म्लेच्छवंश *i.e.*, the Gandharva Brahmans of the Mlech'ha dynasty ?

A learned Pandit of Cashmere, told me, that this is an allusion to the Persian priests of Zoroastrian faith. The king Mihir Cula having favoured these Zoroastrian priests, he is run down by the Brahman writer of the Râdjatarangini, and the Persian priests are abused. The very names of the king, his temple, and his city, as Mihir Cula, Mihiréshwara and Mihirapur point to a tendency to lean towards the Persian worship of Meher or Mithras.

The references to the Gandarii by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandarii. It appears, that the Gandharas, referred to by the author of the Râdjatarangini, were not the same, as those referred to, in the Mahâbhâratta, but they were the same, as those referred to by Herodotus, as Gandarians and as a people of one of the twenty Satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire.[2] They were the same, who, with the Sogdians "having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians," formed a part of the army of Xerxes.[3] They are the same, as those referred to by Pliny, as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad.

Thus, the Gandhara Brahmins, referred to by the Râdjatarangini, as being preferred to the Brahmins of the country, and as having won the favour of Mihir Cula, were some foreigners from the further west. That they were Zoroastrian Mobeds, appears from the description given in the Râdjatarangini.[4] The writer alludes tauntingly, to the oft-repeated charge of the custom of marriage among the nearest kins among the ancient Persians, a charge, that has been rebutted, as one, carelessly made by a few Greek writers, on the authority of a few doubtful recorded instances of one or two unreasonable Persian monarchs.

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 28.

[2] Bk. III., 91.

[3] Bk. VII., 66. "Had the Bactrian equipment in all respects."—Rawlinson's Translation.

[4] Bk. I., Slokas, 306—309.

The next reference by Bada-ud-din to a Cashmiri king who had any relations with Persia, is that to Lalitâditya,[1] who, according to Wilson's chronology, ruled in the commencement of the eighth century after Christ. When Yazdajird, the last of the Sassanian rulers, was hard pressed by the rising power of the Arabs, he was one of the neighbouring rulers, who had marched to Persia to help the Persian monarch. But, on his way, hearing of the great power of the Arabs, he withdrew and returned to Cashmere.[2]

V.

According to Herodotus, Darius Hystaspes was the first Persian monarch, who had sent to Cashmere, an expedition for exploring the regions watered by the Indus. We know from the same authority, and from several stone columns with cuneiform inscriptions, recently discovered near Suez, that this enterprising monarch was the first to build a complete Suez canal about twenty-three centuries ago, for the purpose of developing the trade of his conquered countries.[3] It appears, that it was with the same enterprising zeal, that he had sent an expedition to the shores of the Indus. Herodotus says :—

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report, and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea. . . . After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented this sea."[4]

Herodotus refers to the above Caspatyrus in another chapter as follows :—"There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica, settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of the Indians."[5]

VI.

Wilson has shown very cleverly that the Caspatyrus of Herodotus is the same as Cashmere.[6] According to the ancient tradition recorded in the Râdjatarangini, the ancient history of Cashmere, the country was at first "a vast lake called Satisaras".[1] Saint Caçyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of Brahma (the Cashef of the Mahomedans), was the person who brought about the desiccation of the country and emptied the lake. Hence the country was called Kaçyapapura, i.e., the country of Kaçyapa.

---

[1] Asiatic Researches XV., p. 44. [2] *Ibid*, p. 46 note.

[3] "La Stele de Chalouf" par M. Joachim Menant. *Vide* my Gujarati Lecture before the Dnyân Prasarak Mandli on "The Suez Canal."

[4] Herodotus IV., Ch. 44; translated by Cary (1889), Bohn's Classical Library Series, pp. 251-2.

[5] Herodotus III, Ch. 102. [6] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., pp. 115-118.

According to another legend about the drying of the valley of Kashmir, referred to by Wilson, as given in the Wakiat-i-Cashmir, when this country was covered with water, there lived in it a demon, named Jaladeo (i.e., the demon of water) "who preyed upon mankind, and seized on every thing and person he could meet with in the neighbouring regions."[2] Cashef, the son of Marichi, prayed to Mahadeo to kill this demon. Mahadeo asked his servant Vishnu to do this and he succeeded in killing this demon after a fight of 100 years. May I ask—Has not this story any connection with that in the Shâhnâmeh, in which Sâm, the son of Nariman, kills on the banks of the river Kashaf, a demon-dragon "whose length extended from one city to another and whose breadth spread from one mountain to another. All the people were afraid of him and kept a watch for day and night against him."[3] That Sâm had visited Hindustan, appears from another part of the Shâhnâmeh, wherein we find old Faridun entrusting young Minocheher to the care of this general.[4]

VII.

Even now, the people of Cashmere read and hear with pleasure, some of the touching episodes about the ancient Persians in the Shâhnâmeh of Firdousi. During my visit to that country, last May I frequently heard the Pandits saying:

هران کس که شاهنامه خوانی کند
اگر زن بود پهلوانی کند

i. e., "The person who reads Shâhnâmeh, even if he were a woman, acts like a hero." The episodes are rendered into Cashmiri songs, and sung on special occasions by musicians and singers, before large assemblies at night. In the midst of a very touching episode, when, owing to the difficulty or the danger of the favourite hero of the episode, who has for the time become a favourite of the audience as well, the excitement of the hearers is raised to the highest pitch, the singer suddenly stops and refuses to proceed further. The hearers get impatient to know the fate of their favourite hero, and subscribe among themselves, a small sum to be given to the singer as the price for releasing the favourite hero from what they call his "*band*," *i.e.*, difficulty or danger. It is only, when a sum is presented, that the singer proceeds further. They say, that even on marriage occasions, some of the marriage songs treat of the ancient Persians. For example, I was told that one of the marriage songs, was a song sung by the mother of Rustam, when her son went to Mazindaran to release king Kâus.

---

[1] *Ibid*, p 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[3] چنان اژدها کو ز رود کشف
برون آمد و کرد گیتی چو کف
زمین شهر تا شهر بالای او
همان کوه تا کوه پهنای او
جهانرا ازو بود دل پر هراس
همی داشتندی شب و روز پاس

Vuller I., p. 191.

[4] که سام آمده بود ز هندوستان
بهرپاد آن رزم جادوستان

Vuller I., p. 12[illegible].

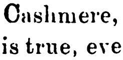
VIII.

It was for the first time, that I had heard in Kashmir, the following story about Rustam and Ali. I do not know, if it is common to other parts of India.

They say, that Rustam was resuscitated about 500 years after his death for the following reason. Ali, the favourite of the holy Prophet, had fought very bravely in the war against the infidels. The Prophet complimented him, saying: "You have fought as bravely as Rustam." This remark excited the curiosity of Ali, as to who and how strong this Rustam was. To satisfy the curiosity of Ali, but without letting him know about it, the Prophet prayed to God to resuscitate Rustam. God accepted the prayer. Rustam re-appeared on this earth, and met Ali once, when he was passing through a very narrow defile, which could allow only one rider to pass. Rustam bade Ali, Salâm Âlikum, *i.e.*, saluted him. Ali did not return the Âlikum Salâm. Having met in the midst of a narrow defile, it was difficult for any one of them to pass by the side of the other, unless one retraced his steps. To solve the difficulty, Rustam lifted up the horse of Ali together with the rider by passing his whip under his belly, and taking him over his head, placed him on the other side of the defile behind him. This feat of extraordinary strength surprised Ali, who on return spoke of it to the Prophet.

After a few days Ali again met Rustam, who was sitting on a plain with his favourite horse, the Rakhsh, grazing by his side. On seeing Ali, he bade him Salâm Âlikum, but Ali did not return the salâm. Rustam then requested Ali to bring to him the grain bag of his horse, which was lying at some distance. Ali found it too heavy to be lifted up, and it was after an amount of effort that he could carry it to Rustam. Ali thought to himself: What must be the strength of the horse and of the master of the horse, if the grain-bag of the horse was so extraordinarily heavy? On going home, he narrated to the Prophet, what he had seen. The Prophet then explained the matter to him, and said that it was Rustam, whom he had seen during these two visits, and that God had brought him to life again at his special request. He then reprimanded Ali for his want of respect towards Rustam, in not returning his salâms, and said, that, had Ali been sufficiently courteous to Rustam, he would have prayed to God to keep him alive some time longer, and in that case, he (Rustam) would have rendered him great help in his battles.

IX.

Most of the Cashmiri songs about the ancient Persians refer to Rustam and to King Kâus. I was told by a Pandit, that the Sultân of Kathâi near Muzafferabad in Cashmere, traced his descent from King Kâus. We know from the Avesta and Pahlavi books that King Kâus was known for his opposition to magicians, fairies, &c. In the Âbân Yasht, he is represented, as praying before Ardviçura on Mount Ereziphya, identified by Bunsen with Mount Seraphi in the country of Holmius between Merv and Herat, for suppressing the power of these evil-minded people. The Pahlavi Bahaman Yasht supports this statement. Again, from the Pahlavi manuscript Zarthosht-nâmeh of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, we learn that this monarch had sent one Sarita to an abode of the fairies known as Dair-i-Parikân () with an order to destroy that place. Sarita, instead of executing the order of his master, entered into a treaty of peace, whereupon Kâus sent him back with special orders to kill a fairy known as Kalba Karap. Now we still hear in Cashmere, Cashmiri songs and stories wherein Kâus and the fairies play a prominent part. The age of Kâus is even now spoken of, as the golden age of Cashmere, when boats could move on land. One can say, that this is true, even now, in the case of the Dâl Lake, where the movement of the boats in the beautiful waters of the lake, all covered with aquatic flower plants and bushes, gives an appearance of the boats moving as it were on land.

Before concluding this paper, I will refer to a mistake committed by some Parsee writers in mixing up Cashmere (كشمير) with Kashmar (كشمر), a place situated, according to Ousley,[1] near Tarshiz in Khorasan. Firdousi speaks of the foundation of the new religion of Zoroaster in the reign of Gushtâsp as the planting of a tree in the ground. He says: "It was a tree with many roots and a large number of branches, spreading from the mansion of Gushtâsp to the top of his palace. The leaves of that tree were good counsels and the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit (*viz.*, wisdom) die?"[1]

---

[1] Ousley's travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 388.

Having thus spoken allegorically of Zoroaster and his new religion, Firdousi says that King Gushtâsp, the then King of Persia, planted before the gate of his fire-temple, a noble cypress which Zoroaster had brought from paradise. He calls it the cypress of Kashmir (سرو کشمر), because it was planted in a place called Kashmar. This tree "reminds us," says Ousley,[2] "of that extraordinary triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abraham and existing until the death of Christ." Mohsan Fani, a native of Cashmere, also speaks of this cypress tree in his Dabistân,[3] and I think it is this Dabistân that has led Parsee writers, like the learned author of the Rehbar-i-Din-i-Zarthoshti[4] into the mistake of taking the Kashmar of Firdousi to be the same as Cashmere. It speaks of the locality at one place as Kashmir or Kashmar[5] and at another place as Kashmir. Again, it speaks of the locality as "a place celebrated for female beauty," and we know, that it is from very ancient times, that modern Cashmere is celebrated for the beauty of its women. Then, add to this, the fact, that the author of the Dabistân was himself a native of Cashmere. All these facts seem to have led later Parsee writers to believe, that the modern Cashmere was the place where King Gushtâsp had planted in the compound of a fire-temple the cypress of Zoroaster, which, from the straightness of its growth and the elegance of its form, was considered to be the symbol of straightforwardness, uprightness and truth. The author of the Dabistân tries to give some intelligent explanation of the tradition, which allegorically speaks of the cypress being brought from paradise. As Firdousi says, King Gushtâsp planted the cypress before the fire-temple, as a symbol to impress upon the minds of the spectators, that as the tree would grow straight, and spread all round, so he would endeavour to spread the doctrines of truth and straightforwardness taught by the new faith.

---

[1] Vuller III., p. 1497. [2] Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 389.

[3] The Dabistân by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I., p. 306-9.

[4] Rehbari-Din-i-Zarthoshti by Dastur Erachjee Sorabjee Meherji Rana. p. 40.

[5] p. 306.

The Antiquity of the Avesta.

[*Read 26th June* 1896. *Dr. Gerson Da Cunha in the Chair.*]

The general opinion about the extant Avesta literature is, that it is a faithful remnant of the "Grand Avesta" of the Achemenian times. But as Prof. Max Müller says, the late lamented Dr. Darmesteter, whose untimely death has caused a great gap in the foremost rank of Avesta scholars, has, by what he calls the historical solution of the question, thrown a bomb-shell "into the peaceful camp of Oriental scholars."[1] He asserts,[2] that the Avesta, as it has come down to us, is not a faithful reproduction from the "Grand Avesta" of the Achemenian times, but that it has undergone several changes while passing through the hands of the different monarchs of Persia, who undertook to collect its writings.

To support his theory, he dwells upon, what he calls, two kinds of evidence. I.—Firstly, the historical evidence, as collected from the Dinkard and the letter of Tansar, the Dastur of Ardeshir Babegân, to the king of Tabaristan—.II.—Secondly, the internal evidence, as presented by the Avesta itself.

On the supposed strength of these two kinds of evidence, he says, that a great part of the Avesta had been re-written in the period of the political religious fermentation, which preceded the advent of the Sassanians; that the greatest and the most important touch and finish were given to it in the reign of Ardeshir Babegân (A. D. 211-241); and that even in the reign of Shapur I (A. D. 241-272), some final changes were made in it. Thus, Dr. Darmesteter brings down the antiquity of the Avesta, which scholars like Haug and his Vedic school had placed in a remote period, preceding even the Achemenian times, to as late as the third century after Christ. The object of this paper, is to examine some of the points, which Darmesteter dwells upon, to support his theory. This paper does not pretend to examine in detail, the great question of the Antiquity of the Avesta from all standpoints, but aims to examine it from a few standpoints, suggested by Darmesteter, as facts of historical and internal evidence.

---

[1] Prof. Max Müller's article entitled "The Date of the Zend Avesta" in the *Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1893, Vol. XLIV., p. 869.

[2] Le Zend Avesta III. pp. 2-40. The Vendidad, 2nd Ed., Introduction, pp. xxxvii-li.

I.

Firstly, we will enter into the subject of the historical evidence about the later origin of the Avesta. The history of the collection of the Avesta, as given in the Dinkard,[1] is as follows :—

In the times of the Achemenian emperors, one copy of the "Grand Avesta" was deposited in the royal archives of Istakhar (Persepolis), and another in the royal treasury of Shapigân. The one in the royal archives was destroyed by Alexander the Great,[2] during his conquest of Persia. The literature so destroyed, was written, according to Tansar,[3] upon 12,000 ox-hides. It consisted of 1,000 chapters. The other copy in the royal treasury was taken possession of by the Greeks, who carried it away and got it translated into their language. Perhaps, it is this translation, that Pliny[4] refers to, when he says, that Hermippus (3rd century B. C.) had commented upon the two millions of verses of the writings of Zoroaster. During the times of the Parthian dynasty, when there was, to a certain extent, a religious anarchy in Persia, Valkhash (Vologeses I.), with a view to restore the religion, tried to collect the Avesta literature destroyed by Alexander.

But the most successful attempt was made by Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. The services rendered by Ardeshir to the cause of the Zoroastrian religion are therefore thus commemorated in the Âfrin î Rapithavan: Hamâzor Farohar-i-Ardeshir Babegân bâd, avâ hamâ Farohar-i-ârâstârân va vinâstârân va vinârtârân-i-din khudâe bad, *i. e.*, "May the guiding spirit of Ardeshir Babegân be one with us, together with the guiding spirits of those, who restore, arrange and look into the religion of God." Ardeshir was helped in this noble cause by a learned Dastur named Taosar or Tansar. Although, as said above, one attempt was made by Vologeses I. before Ardeshir, and although two more attempts were made after Ardeshir by Shapur I. and Shapur II., to restore the ancient literature and religion, it is only Ardeshir's more imporant attempt that is commemorated in the above Âfrin. Now, Darmesteter lays great stress upon the abovementioned account of the Dinkard, and upon a letter by Tansar to the king of Tabaristan, wherein, he explained, to a certain extent, how he wished to proceed in the work of helping his royal master Ardeshir in the cause of uniting the ancient Persian empire, of reviving the ancient literature, and of restoring the ancient religion. On the strength of these two documents, he says, that the Avesta literature, as it has now come down to us, was, to a certain extent, meddled with, by Tansar. It appears from Maçoudi,[1] that Tansar belonged to the Platonic sect, and so, according to Darmesteter, Tansar had introduced into the Avesta, his Platonic views. Working upon that speculation, he tries to show, that there are several Greek elements in the Avesta. Not only that, but there are several other elements — Budhistic, Brahaminical, Jewish, etc., which show, he says, that the Avesta writings, now extant, are not very old.

---

[1] S. B. E. Vol. XXXVII., West's Dinkard, Introduction, p. xxxi., pp. 413-14.

[2] Viraf-nâmeh, 1-8.

[3] Journal Asiatique, Neuvième série Tome III. (1894), p. 516. The Virâf-nâmeh, refers to ox-hides, but does not give the number (Ch. 17).

[4] Pliny, Bk. XXX., Chap. 2, Bostock and Riley's translation (1856), Vol. V., p. 422.

We will examine the evidence, produced by Darmesteter from the historical documents, and see, how far his conclusion is based on solid ground. He takes his stand upon the general statements of the Dinkard and of the letter of Tansar, and boldly draws inferences, which would not be justified by a detail examination of the passages. Let us examine the statements about the three principal different sovereigns of Persia, who collected the Avesta, and who worked, so to speak, to bring about Irânian renaissance.

1. Firstly comes Valkhash. The Dinkard says of him, that "Valkhash, descendant of Askân, in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation, and making of memoranda for the royal city, of the Avesta and Zand, as it had purely come unto them, and also of whatever instruction, due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans."[2]

---

[1] Maçoudi Chap. XXIV., Traduction de Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille (1863). Tome II., p. 161.

[2] S. B. E. XXXVII., Dinkard, Bk. IV. 24. West, p. 413.

Darmesteter infers from this passage, that, as Valkhash had a hand in the collection of the Avesta, the modern Avesta had some interpolations of his time, and that some post-Alexandrian elements had crept into it. But the passage does not admit of this inference. It very clearly says, that he had ordered the careful preservation of the Avesta and Zand, as it had *purely* come unto them. ([illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Hoshangji and Haug's Pahlavi Pazand Glossary, Haug's Essay, p. 150.) Valkhash was so zealous to preserve the religious scruples of his creed, that, he once refused to go to Rome at the invitation of Nero, lest, by going by the sea-route, he may pollute water and thus break one of the commandments of the Vendidad, which forbade the pollution of water. His brother Tiridates was a priest. Now, how can a king like him, who was so closely connected with a priestly family, and who himself so earnestly observed all religious scruples, allow any interpolations in the collection of the old Avesta? How can he tolerate the smallest addition of any foreign element?

2. After Valkhash, comes Ardeshir Babegân. He is spoken of by the Dinkard, as the next collector of the Avesta. Tansar's letter to the king of Tabaristan also refers to this matter. The Dinkard says:[1]

"And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who was son of Pâpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irân, and the same scripture was brought from a scattered state to one place. The righteous Tôsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests, appeared with an exposition *recovered from the Avesta*, and was ordered to complete the scripture from that exposition. He did so accordingly, to preserve a similitude of the splendour of the original enlightenment, in the treasury of Shapigân, and was ordered to distribute copies of the information provided."

From the above passage of the Dinkard, Darmesteter infers that "it appears that the Ardashîr compilation contained two classes of texts: texts that were incorporated as they were, and other texts that were conjecturally restored by Tansar, the Pôryôtkês, so as to make a collection that should be an exact reproduction of the Vîstâsp Avesta, the lost treatise of Shapîgân, which is as much as saying that the

---

[1] S. B. E. XXXVII., West's Dinkard, Introduction. p. xxxi.

Ardashir Avesta is a compound of texts anterior to Tansar and texts emanating from Tansar, the whole being an ideal restoration of a primitive Avesta."[1] I beg to submit, that the above passage of the Dinkard does not at all allow of such an inference. How can an unprejudiced reader derive that inference, when the passage very clearly says, that "Tosar . . . appeared with an exposition *recovered from the Avesta* and was ordered to complete the scripture from that exposition ? "

Again, we must take into consideration, the character of the two chief actors of this second period of Irânian renaissance, the character of both the king and his Dastur, of Ardeshir and Tansar. Ardeshir, through his grandfather Sassan, belonged to the sacerdotal race. According to Agathias, he "was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi, and could himself celebrate the mysteries."[2] How can such a king, himself versed in the learned lore of his religion, give a free hand to his Dastur, to introduce into the religious scriptures any foreign element that he liked. It could do in the case of a king, not versed in the religious lore, but not, in the case of a king like Ardeshir, who, by birth and education, belonged to the sacerdotal class versed in their religious books. If Tansar had taken any liberty, Ardeshir could have at once stopped him.

But now, let us examine the character of Tansar himself. According to the Dinkard, he was a "Paoiryô-tkaêsha," *i.e.*, one of the old order of faith, and, as such, was naturally averse to any innovations and to the introduction of any new elements in the old religion and in the old scriptures. This is confirmed by the tone he adepts, in his letter to the king of Tabaristân. He expresses his displeasure at the new order of things, subsequent to the religious anarchy in the reign of the preceding dynasty. He says:[3]—"At last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people." How then can we except a Paoiryôtkaêsha of Tansar's type and views, to introduce into the religion and religious scriptures, notions, foreign to the old faith?

---

[1] S. B. E. IV, Darmesteter. Vendîdâd, 2 Ed. XLV.

[2] *Ibid*, p. XLI.

[3] *Ibid*, p. XLIII.

While speaking about the characters of the two principal actors of the second period of Irânian renaissance, it will not be out of place, to examine briefly, a few important parts of Tansar's letter on which Darmesteter rests so much.

(*a*) Firstly, Darmesteter attaches great importance to that part of the letter, wherein Tansar writes to the king of Tabaristan, that king Ardeshir does away with those customs, which do not suit the necessities of his time. Now, this does not show that Ardeshir, through his Dastur Tansar, meddled with the old religious scriptures. It simply means, that he modified several customs, which, looking to the circumstances of the changed times, acted harshly and unjustly. Again, Tansar's words, این شهنشاه مسلط است بر دین[1] mean, that "the king is the ruler over the religion," *i.e.*, the king is superior in points of religion or is the head of the Church. What Tansar meant, was, that the king was the spiritual and temporal head of the country. It seems, that the translation given by Darmesteter, *viz.*, "the Shahinshah has power over the religion," is beyond the mark. It stretches the meaning too much. When Henry VIII. assumed in England, the power as the spiritual head of the Church; he did not make all possible changes either in the religious observances or the scriptures.

(*b*) Again, Tansar's words, دین را تا رای بیان نکند قوامی نباشد[2] mean, that, "If the religion is not described (or explained) by reason, it has no steadiness." Darmesteter's rendering of بیان کند, as "enlightened," carries the idea, that Tansar meant addition or modification, but the words merely mean "description." The fact, that this passage of Tansar's letter, does not refer to the additions of any new notions or ideas, is proved by another part of Tansar's letter, quoted above, wherein, he himself expresses his displeasure against the introduction of novelties.

(*c*) Again, the fact, that Tansar's letter does not refer to any changes or additions in the Avesta scriptures, is more than proved by a cursory examination of some of the rules and laws, referred to by Tansar. Let us see, if some of the points, referred to by Tansar, are found in the present Avesta, with which, he is supposed to have taken great liberty.

---

[1] Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série Tome III. (1894), p. 212, l. 9.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 213, l. 14.

The king of Tabaristân complains of some innovations on the part of Ardeshir. Now, if, according to Darmesteter's theory, Tansar had taken liberty with the Avesta, we should have found those innovations in the Avesta; but, as a matter of fact, we do not find them. For example, the king of Tabaristan objects to Ardeshir's division of the different professions into four classes. [1] The Avesta division of the professions is as follows:—(1) Âthravan (the clergy), (2) Rathaêshtâr (the army), (3) Vâçtrya (the cultivators), and (4) Hutokhsh (the artizans).

Ardeshir's division, according to Tansar's letter, is as follows:—

The king is at the head of all. Then follow [2]:

(1) Açhâb-i-Din, *i.e.*, the clergy.
(2) Mukâtel (mardân-i-kârzâr), *i.e.*, the army.
(3) Kuttâb, *i.e.*, the writers. This class includes clerks, medical men, literary men and scientific men.
(4) Muhanâ, *i.e.*, the men of the ordinary class of work. This class includes merchants, agriculturists, workmen, &c.

A superficial examination of these two divisions, the one of the Avesta and the other of Tansar, shows, that they widely differ. Now, if Tansar took liberty with the Avesta, why did he not replace the Avesta division which "did not suit the necessities of the present" by the new division? If Tansar's object was to establish the unity of the throne by the unity of the Church, instead of meddling with philosophic subjects like those of the Logos and the Ideas, which the generality of the people did not care for, and which could in no way strengthen the power of Ardeshir, he ought to have first of all handled subjects like this and the following, which had drawn the general attention, and which had, according to the king of Tabaristân, displeased the people. He ought to have introduced them into the Avesta, to give them the stamp of religion. The fact, that Tansar did not do so, and that the extant Avesta gives quite another division, shows, that Tansar had not taken any liberty with the Avesta.

(*d*) Then, the next important subject, referred to by Tansar in his letter, is the subject of punishments for scepticism and for criminal faults, such as theft and adultery. For example, Ardeshir ordered, that the adulterer must be punished by having his nose cut, that the brigand and the thief must be punished by being made to pay large fines, &c. Now, if Tansar had taken liberty with the Avesta, and, if, as he says, Ardeshir had "ordered these precepts to be inserted in the Book of Laws" (ketâb-i-sunun), we should find them in the present Avesta, at least in the Vendidad. But we do not find anything of the kind in the Avesta, which shows that Tansar had not meddled with the Avesta.

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 517.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 214.

In the Pahlavi commentary of the Vendidâd (VIII. 236 (74) Spiegel, p. 122), we find an allusion to the punishment of a brigand (râçdâr [illegible]). It is there said, on the authority of a commentator, Gogoshasp, that a brigand, who continues in his evil profession, may be at once put to death without waiting for a formal order from the Dâto-bar. [illegible] ([illegible]). The same punishment is ordered on the authority of one Vakhshâpur. Now, it appears from this, that the punishment here referred to, is not at all in accord with the punishment referred to by Tansar, in his letter, as that "ordered by him to be inserted in the Book of Law." On the other hand, it is more in accord with that spoken of by Tansar, as prevalent in the ancient times. This shows, that Tansar had nothing to do with the Avesta. Not only that, but he had nothing to do even with the Pahlavi commentaries, written much later than the original Avesta. If he had no free hand in the later Pahlavi commentaries, how can he have a free hand in the original Avesta itself?

(*e*) Again, we find in the Pahlavi version of the Vendidâd, a number of names of eminent Dasturs, who had made comments, such as Gogoshasp, Dâd-farrokh, Âdar-pâd, Khoshtanbujid, Vakhshâpur, but we do not find anywhere, the name of Tansar. This is a very strong proof, that Tansar had no hand at all, not only in the original Avesta, but even in the much later Pahlavi versions.

(*f*) Lastly, take the case of Tansar's reference to the social custom of marriage. He says, that Ardeshir "prohibited that a man of high family should marry a girl of a lower family, with a view to preserve the purity of blood." Now, we find no prohibition of this kind in the present Avesta. If Tansar had taken liberty with it, as alleged, he would have put in this prohibition in the Vendidâd.

The only prohibition referred to in the Vendidad, is, that a Mâzdayaçnân should not join in marriage with a Daêva-yaçnân.

3. In examining the so-called historical evidence of Darmesteter, on the later origin of the Avesta, we now come to Shapur, the third important actor of the period of renaissance, after whose time, he thinks, the Avesta canon was closed. Darmesteter is of opinion, that foreign elements crept into the Avesta even after Ardeshir's time, and so, he attaches great importance to the following passage in the Dinkard about Shapur.

"Shahpûhar, king of kings, and son of Artakhshatar, again brought together also the writings which were distinct from religion, about the investigation of medicine and astronomy, time, place, and quality, creation, existence, and destruction . . . . that were scattered among the Hindus and in Arum and other lands; and he ordered their collection again with the Avesta, and the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapigân.' (S. B. E. XXXVII., West's Dinkard P. Texts IV., p. 414; Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta III., p. XXXII.).

Darmesteter says, that "This is a confession that part of the Avesta was translated or imitated from foreign sources."[1] Nothing of the kind. It appears to be clear from this passage, that here the question is about the collection of medical and scientific works *other than those of religion* ([illegible] *napîkîhâ-ch-i-min din bard*[2].) How can they have been embodied in the extant Avesta, which, according to Darmesteter himself, is "only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible."[3] What the Dinkard says, is merely this, that Shapur got collected, both from the East and from the West, works on scientific subjects. They were not all embodied in the Avesta, but as the last sentence of the above quoted passage says, "the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapigân" was ordered by the king. The words in the text, [illegible] (*levatiman Avestak lakhvâr an dâkhtan . . . farmud, i.e.*, he ordered their collection again together with the Avesta. Pahl. Paz. Glossary, p. 150), mean that Shapur ordered the collection again of this scientific literature together with that of the

---

[1] S. B. E. IV. Vendidâd 2nd Edition p. XLVI.

[2] Pahlavi Pazend Glossary by Hoshangji and Haug-Haug's Essay, p. 151, l. 4.

[3] S. B. E. IV. Vendidâd, 2nd Edition, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

Avesta, and ordered a copy of each to be preserved in the royal library of Shapigân. The words do not admit of the interpretation of "reunir et incorporer dans l'Avesta les fragments d'un intérêt scientifique," as Darmesteter (Le Zend Avesta III., p. xxxiii) understands them.

If, as Darmesteter says, the above passage is an allusion to his theory, that additions were made to the Avesta even in later times, then, as a matter of fact, we must find these writings on medicine, astronomy, and such other scientific subjects in our present Avesta. But we do not find them at all. Therefore, the only inference we can draw, is this, that the passage in the Dinkard, does not at all allude to any subsequent additions to the Avesta itself, but to the Pahlavi works.

In closing this short survey of Darmesteter's conclusion, based on the historical evidence of the Dinkard and of Tansar's letter, we must bear in mind several facts.

(*a*) In the very passages, where the Dinkard speaks of the restoration of religion, and of the religious scriptures, and on which Darmesteter lays great stress in support of his theory, Alexander, the Greek of Greeks, is spoken of as "the evil-destined villain Alexander," and allusions are made to his ravages and devastations. Again, the very document, on which Darmesteter bases his theory, *viz.*, Ibn al Muqaffa's letter of Tansar, speaks of the harsh conduct of Alexander towards the Persians. He thought of killing the princes and nobles of Irân, so that during his march towards India, they may not rise against him. But the good advice of his tutor Aristotle prevailed, and he divided Irân into petty principalities, so that the rulers may fight among themselves, and not join into an open rebellion against his rule. Again, in the body of the letter itself, Tansar alludes to the fact of Alexander's burning the sacred books.[1]

Now, Darmesteter represents Tansar, as borrowing foreign elements for his Avesta, from these very Greeks, whose hero Alexander, he (Tansar) himself runs down, and so do the Dinkard and other Pahlavi works. How improbable it is, then, that a religious and sacerdotal monarch like Ardeshir, and a Paoiryô-Tkaêsha Dastur like Tansar, should think of introducing, into their scriptures, the notions and beliefs of those very Greeks, who had brought about the ruin of their country and religion—a ruin, the painful memory of which was fresh in their minds, and which continued to remain fresh for some time longer! Nothing can be more improbable than this.

---

[1] "Tu sais qu' Alexandre brûla à Istakhar nos livres sacrés écrits sur douze mille peaux de bœuf." Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série (1894) Tome III., p. 516.

But look to this question from another point of view. What did Valkhash, Ardeshir and Shapur aim at? What was the religious renaissance for? The Greeks had possibly left a slight mark of their invasion on the politics, as well as on the social and religious life of Irân. It was this mark of the Greeks, that had brought about the political, social, and religious anarchy. It was to obliterate these marks, that Valkhash, Ardeshir, and the two Shapurs worked. To obliterate these marks, was the aim of the renaissance of Ardeshir's time. Now, what can be more improbable than to think, that those, who worked hard in that work of renaissance, should, instead of obliterating any marks of Greek influence, prepetuate them, by bodily introducing Greek elements into their very scriptures!

If there be any country, whose religious ideas the Persians would not like to have incorporated into their religious books, it would be Greece or India. Again, if there be anybody, who could be said to have introduced into Zoroastrianism, these so-called Greek and Indian elements, Tansar should be the last person, because, from his very letter to the king of Tabaristân, to which Darmesteter attaches so much importance, we learn, that as a true Zoroastrian, he found the Greeks, Indians and others, wanting in good religious manners and customs (آدابِ دین). Referring to the country of the Turks, Greece, and India, Tansar says (I give Darmesteter's translation)[1]: "Quant aux bonnes mœurs religieuses et au service du Roi, ce sont des faveurs qu'il (Le Dieu) nous a octroyées et qu'il leur a refusées." Further on, he says: "Toutes les sciences de la terre sont notre lot." Thus, we see, that Tansar believed, that his fatherland of Irân possessed all the sciences of the world, and that his country was favoured by God with all good religious customs, which the other countries were deprived of. Now, how can you expect a man with such a belief, to borrow elements for his scriptures from Greece and from other countries?

(*b*) Again, what is more probable? That, if, in order to suit new circumstances, he was allowed the liberty to meddle with the Avesta, he should take liberty with those parts, which treat of philosophic subjects, or with those, that treat of the social manners and customs, with which the generality of people had to do?

---

[1] Journal Asiatique, (1894) Tome III, p. 547.

As a religious reformer, it would be his duty not to add new philosophic ideas, with which, the people, on the whole, had little concern, but to change some of the old social usages, which required a change under the new circumstances. If allowed a free hand, Tansar would have at first changed some of the customs mentioned in the Vendidâd, which clearly point that they belonged to very old times.

For example, it appears from the Vendidâd, that during the olden times, when it was written, the use of metal, as money, was very little known. Animals were the medium of exchange or barter. A medical practitioner was required to be paid, not in coins, but in animals.[1] If he cured the head of a family, he was given a small ox as his professional fee ; if he cured the ruler of a village, a large ox ; if he cured the lady of the house, a she-ass, and so on. This scale of medical fees, must have existed, a long time before the Achemenian rulers, some of whom had Greek doctors on their staff. Now then, if Tansar had a *carte blanche* from his sovereign to take liberty with the Avesta, and to add, omit, or modify, the first thing, he would have done, would have been to strike off from the Vendidâd, the above system of payment, and to introduce, in its stead, a new system of payment by coins.

There are several other old customs in the Vendidâd, which suited the times, when it was written, but in the times of Valkhash or Tansar, were more honoured in their breach than in their observance. So, had Tansar taken liberty with the Avesta, instead of meddling with some philosophic ideas, he would have at once changed some of the customs mentioned in the Vendidâd. But, the very fact, that the Vendidâd has come down to us, as it was written in some pre-Achemenian times, shows, that Tansar could not have taken any liberty with the sacred writings.

(*c*) The chief point, which should determine the age, when the different writings of Zoroastrian literature were written, is the mention, made therein, of the names of historical personages. The Farvardin Yasht contains a long list of the departed worthies of ancient Irân. It contains the names of eminent men, who lived upto two centuries after Zoroaster, and who did yeoman's service to their country. For example, the name of Saêna Ahum Stuto (Saêna Ahum Studân of Afrin î Rapithavan) who, according to the Pahlavi

---

[1] Vendidâd VII., 41-43.

Zarthosht-Nameh, died about two hundred years after Zoroaster, is commemorated there (Y. XIII., 97). Now, if according to Darmesteter, the Zoroastrian canon was not closed up to the time of Shâpur, why is it, that we do not find in the Farvardin Yasht, any names of the Parthian or Sassanian dynasties? Those dynasties have produced a number of men, worthy of being commemorated for their services to the cause of their country and religion. Take the case of Valkhash (Vologeses I.), whose services to the cause of Zoroastrian religion are highly spoken of by the Dinkard together with those of Ardeshir. Now, if liberty was taken, as alleged, by Tansar, and his predecessors, with the Avesta, surely, the name of Valkhash would most assuredly have been added to the long list of the worthies of Irân in the Farvardin Yasht. Again, Ardeshir's services to the cause of Zoroastrian religion were really very great. And so, they were commemorated in the later Pâzend prayer, known as the Afrin î Rapithavan, together with those of Zoroaster, King Gushtâsp, Asfandiâr, and others. Now, if the Sassanian princes took liberty with the Avesta, why is it, that the name of Ardeshir Babegân is not included in the list of the Farvardin Yasht. Ardeshir's son Shâpur I., who also is spoken of in the Dinkard, as having had a part in the revival of the religion, could have added the name of his illustrious father in the list of the Farvardin Yasht. The very fact, that Ardeshir's services were remembered in the later Pazend prayer, but not in the Avesta itself, shows, that no liberty was taken with the writings of the Avesta.

II.

Having examined the historical evidence, now let us examine a few important points of internal evidence, advanced by Darmesteter. He points to several passages in the Avesta, and traces in them, foreign elements, and infers therefrom, that those foreign elements had crept into the Avesta in later times.

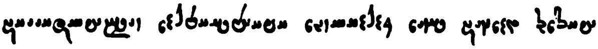
(*A*) We will first speak of, what he calls, the Parthian elements.

1. Professor Darmesteter refers to a name in the Avesta, which, he thinks, points to a later origin of the Avesta. It is that of Alexander. In the Hom Yasht, they say of Haoma that "he overthrew the usurping Kereçâni, who arose longing for sovereignty, and said: "Henceforth, no priest will go at his wish, through the country, to teach the law." Professor Darmesteter says, that the Kereçâni, referred to

here, is Alexander. He says, that here, a foreign invasion and persecution is alluded to, and that, therefore, it is a historical allusion to Alexander's conquest of Persia. In support of his theory, he rests upon the Pahlavi rendering of the word, which is rendered as Kilisyâk (Kilisyai). In the Pahlavi Bahaman Yasht, Alexander is spoken of as "Alexander the Kilisyâk." Hence, Darmesteter says, that the Kereçâni, spoken of in the Hom Yasht, is Alexander, and that therefore, this text is post-Alexandrian. There are several facts, which show that Kereçâni was not Alexander.

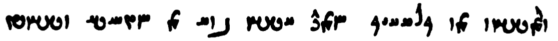
(*a*) The first consideration is, that in the Bahman Yasht, Kilisyâk is used as a common noun. It is used, as an appellation, signifying that Alexander was a Kilisyâk, whatever you choose to understand by that term. In the same way, the Pahlavi commentators also, while giving a Pahlavi rendering of the passage in question, take the word Kereçâni or Kilisyâk to be a common noun.

The Avesta passage runs thus (Yaçna IX., 24):



i.e., "Haoma landed Kereçâni, dethroned him from his throne," (Dr. Mills S. B. E. XXXI. (1887), p. 237.)

The Pahlavi rendering of this passage is as follows (Spiegel IX., 75, p. 75, ll. 15-16):



Hom valmanshân mun karsaik homand āshân barā min khudâih nishânid, i.e., Hom dethroned (lit. made them sit down) from their sovereignty those, who were karsâik.

This Pahlavi rendering clearly shows, that the commentator has taken the word Kereçâni in the sense of a common noun. He has rendered it in the plural number. If, according to Darmesteter, the Pahlavi translator meant by Kilisyâk, Alexander, why should he have used the plural number.

(*b*) There is another consideration, which shows, that by Kereçâni, the Hom Yasht did not mean Alexander. In the Pahlavi books, wherever Alexander is spoken of, he is always spoken of as Alexagdar or Alexidar, Akandgar, Alasandar, or in some other similar form (Virâf-nameh I., 4; West's Dinkard Bk. VIII., Ch. I., 21; S. B. E. V. Bahman Yasht II., 19; III., 34; Bundehesh XXXIV., 8

Minokherad VIII., 29). He is never spoken of as Kilisyâk. In the Bahman Yasht, the word Kilisyâk is once used, but there, it is used with his original name Akandgar. As we have said above, there, the word is not used alone, but simply as an appellation. Just as in some books (for example, the Virâfnameh I., 4), he is spoken of as Arumayâk, *i.e.*, the Roman, so in the Bahman Yasht, he is spoken of as Akandgar-i-Kilisyâkih, *i.e.*, Alexander, the Kilisyâk. In all other books, he is spoken of by his own name, written in different ways. Now, if in all these Pahlavi writings, Alexander was spoken of by his own proper name, why should he not have been spoken of by that name, by the Pahlavi commentator of the Hom Yasht, if, at all, he meant to express, that Kereçani was Alexander.

(*c*) One fact more. In most of the above Pahlavi works, wherever the harm, done by Alexander to the Zoroastrian religion, is spoken of, he is always spoken of, as "Alexander the cursed (Gazashté [illegible]), *i.e.*, an epithet generally applied to Âhriman or the devil. Some such other epithet is often applied to him (Virâf-nameh I., 4; Bahman Yasht[1] II., 19; Dinkard[2] VIII., ch. I., 21). Now, if we take, that, as Darmesteter says, the passage in the Hom Yasht refers to the religious persecution by Alexander, why is it, that we do not find either in the Avesta passage itself, or in its Pahlavi rendering, any such usual expression of hatred with the mention of Alexander's name.

(*d*) Again, if the Avesta writer wished to make an allusion to the religious persecution by Alexander, why should he have chosen the Haoma Yasht for it? We know nothing of Alexander's special hostility to Haoma. In his invasion, the Greeks generally destroyed some of the Persian fire temples. So, if there was any part of the Avesta, where an appropriate allusion to Alexander's persecution could have been made with propriety, it was the sacred places in honour of fire, and not the Yasht in honour of Haoma. All these considerations lead to show, that it is a mistake to take Kereçâni to be Alexander.

2. Darmesteter points to another name in the Avesta, and connects it with a historical event, and thereby tries to show, that the Avesta,

---

[1] S. B. E. V. West, Pahlavi Texts I.

[2] S. B. E. XXXVII., West, Pahlavi Texts IV.

as they have come down to us, have a later origin. It is the name of Azi Dahâka (Zohâk of Firdousi).

(*a*) From the facts (*a*) that the Pahlavi Bundehesh draws his descent from one Tâz, a brother of Hoshang, and (*b*) that the Shah-nâmeh calls him a Tâzi, *i.e.*, an Arab (مرد تازی), and (*c*) that Bawri, identified with the later Babylon, is spoken of in the Avesta, as the place of Azi-Dahâka, Darmesteter infers, that it is a reference to the settlement of the Arabs along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris,—an event which took place in the second half of the Arsacide period. Hence, he infers, that the Avesta, which refers to this historic event, must have been written a long time after Alexander. But, from the mere fact, that Zohâk was descended from one Tâz, who was the founder of the tribe of Tâziks, latterly known as the Arabs, and from the fact of the mention of the name of Bawri, identified with the later Babylon, we have no sufficient grounds to infer, that it is an allusion to the historical event of the occupation of Chaldea by the Arabs in later times. Neither the Avesta, nor the Pahlavi Bundehesh, says, that Zohâk was an Arab. The Bundehesh does not take Zohâk to be an Arab. It simply says, that he was descended from one Tâz. It is only Firdousi, who calls him an Arab ; and that is perhaps due to the facts, that Zohâk was descended from Tâz, and that the Tâziks, latterly known as the Arabs, were also descended from Tâz. Thus, then, if the Avesta and the Bundehesh do not recognize Zohâk as an Arab, the inferance, drawn from such a recognition is not valid.

(*b*) Again, even taking it for granted, that Tansar, or the people of his time, knew Azi-dahâk to be an Arab, how could Tansar, or some one else in the latter half of the Arsacide period, (whom Darmesteter supposes to have taken some liberty with the Avesta), have connected the historical event of the occupation of Chaldea by the Arabs with Azi-dahâk. The event, having happened only about one or two centuries before their time, must be fresh in their minds through oral traditions. So, how can either Tansar, an intelligent man, who is represented as having studied the philosophy of adjoining countries, or any other man of his stamp, be supposed to connect a recent historical event with a man of the times of the Peshdâdyan dynasty, a contemporary of Faridun, who lived several hundred years before the event? To suppose, that Tansar or men of his stamp mixed up a historical event, that had recently occurred, and connected it with a man, who lived several hundred years before the event, is paying a very poor compliment to men of Tansar's intelligence, who are otherwise credited with a knowledge of the philosophies of adjoining countries.

(*c*) Again Bawri, the name used in the Avesta for Babylon, suggests another consideration. We find from the cuneiform inscriptions, that Babylon was one of the countries conquered by Darius. In the Behistun inscriptions, Babylon is spoken of as Bâbiru (Spiegel's Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften, p. 4; Oppert's Les Inscriptions des Achéménides, p. 24. Rawlinson J. R. A. S. X. Part I., p. 1.). This word Bâbiru shows, that in the Achemenian times, the old word Bawri had already begun to assume its later form of Babylon. Bawri is an older form of Bâbiru. Hence, the text, wherein the passage containing the word Bawri occurs, must have been written a long time before the Achemenians. So, the conclusion of Darmesteter, that "The texts, in which the Arab Azi Dahâka appears as reigning in Babylon, belong to a time when the Arabs were already settled in Mesopotamia" is groundless.[1] Had that been the case, the writers would have used Babiru, or some other later form, for Babylon, and not the older form 'Bawri.'

3. Again, what is said of Zohâk, can be said of one Zainigau, alleged to be a contemporary of Afrâsiâb, whom Darmesteter attempts to connect with an historical event of the later Parthian times.

(*a*) In the first place, the word Zainigau (Yasht XIX. Zamyâd, 93) has up to now been translated both by European and Parsee scholars, and among them, by Darmesteter himself (Zend Avesta, Part II., S. B. E. XXIII.,), as a common noun. But now, Darmesteter, to support his theory further, finds in Zainigau, an Arab, who was killed by Afrâsiâb, and thinks, that the allusion refers to the subsequent events of the Arab invasions which occurred in the later Parthian times (Le Zend Avesta III.) Introduction p. l. S. B. E. IV., 2nd ed., Introduction p. l.

(*b*) Here again, as in the case of Zohâk, we are led to believe, that a learned man like Tansar or others of his stamp were altogether ignorant of history, that they did not know when Afrasiâb lived, and that therefore, they mixed up historical events, which had occurred only a century or two before their times, with some other event which occurred a long time before.

---

[1] S. B. E., Vol. IV., Vendidâd, 2nd ed., Introduction p. l.

(*c*) Again, in connection with this event, Dr. Darmesteter says, on the authority of Tabari, [1] that "the legendary history of Yemen tells of the Tubba'h Abû Kurrub's invasions into Mesopotamia and his struggles with the Turânians of Âdarbaigân." [2] But Tabari makes this Tnbbâh, a contemporary of Kings Gushtasp and Bahaman of Persia.[3] If that is the case, then it appears, according to Tabari, that the Arabs had a footing in Mesopotamia in the time of king Gushtâsp, *i.e.*, several centuries before the Parthian rule. Thus, the arguments, based by Darmesteter, (that the texts, in which Zohâk is made to settle at Bawri, and in which Zainigau is represented as being killed by Afrâsiab, are texts written in the latter half of the Arsacide period,) upon the assumption, that "the oldest period known, when the Arabs settled along the Euphrates and the Tigris is the second half of the Arsacide period" [4] fall to the ground.

4. Another point, that Darmesteter dwells upon to support his theory, is this that "the Avesta seems to ignore the existence of an Irânian empire. The highest political unity is the *dahyu*, a name which in the inscriptions of Darius denoted the satrapies, *i.e.*, the provincial kingdoms. . . . The highest political power is the *danhupaiti*, the chief of a *dahyu*." [5] Hence, he infers, that the Avesta was written in the times of the Parthian dynasty, after the fall of the empire, when there were so many provincial kings but no Shahinshah, no emperor.

(*a*) But here, Darmesteter commits a mistake, in taking a *dahyu*, in the sense of a satrapy, in which it is used in the inscriptions of Darius. We ought to take it in the sense, in which it is used in the Avesta itself. In the Avesta, it is not used in the sense of a provincial kingdom, but in that of an extensive country.

There is a passage common to all Âfringâns (Westergaard. The Âfringâns, Âfrigân Gahambâr, 14), wherein, the worshipper asks the blessings of God upon all the good reigning sovereigns. Just as, in the Farvardin Yasht (143-4) are invoked the Fravashis of the holy men of all countries, Irân, Turân, Sairima, Sâini (China) and Dahi, so, here are invoked blessings upon all good reigning sovereigns (Khshathrayân daṇhupaiti). The Avesta praises good order and peaceful rule. It says "down with the tyrant" ("Dush-pâdshâhân âvadashân bâd," Nirang-kusti. "Dânâ pâdshâh-bâd duzdânâ avadashân bad," Afrin), but "may good kings flourish in all parts of the world." Now, if the word 'daṇhupaiti,' used in this passage, meant a mere provincial chief, the passage would, according to Darmesteter, point to several provincial chiefs. If that is so, it requires an explanation, why Tansar, who is supposed to have taken liberty with the philosophic part of the Avesta, and wanted to bring about the unity of the empire through the unity of the church, did not alter this passage. This is a passage, which was, as now, recited daily in hundreds of fire-temples, and in thousands of houses of Irân, and therein the blessings of God were invoked upon all the ruling provincial chiefs. Ardeshir is represented by Darmesteter, on the authority of Tansar's letter, to have tried to extinguish the sacred fires of the provincial kingdoms, to preserve the unity of the empire by the unity of the royal fire. It is strange then, that he should have allowed to remain this most important passage in the Avesta, which acknowledged the sovereignty of several provincial rulers.

---

[1] Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg I., p. 504.

[2] S. B. E. IV., 2nd ed., Introduction p. l.

[3] "Ce roi vivait du temps de Gouschtasp et de Bahman." Zotenberg I., p. 505. و این ملک بزمان گشتاسپ بود تا ایام بهمن و ایشان ملک عجم داشتندی (Munshi Naval Kishore's lithographed text of July 1874, p. 211, ll. 15-16.)

[4] S. B. E. IV., 2nd ed., Introduction p. l.

[5] *Ibid*, p. xlix.

This consideration tends to show, that the word *daṇhupaiti* does not refer to mere provincial chiefs, and that the argument based on the meaning of this word, is vague.

(*b*) In his French translation Darmesteter says :—"Vîshtâspa lui-même dans les Gâthas n'a point la physionomie d'un Roi des Rois. C'est un prince qui a donné sa protection á Zoroastre contre d'autres princes : rien ne le distingue des *dahyupaitis* ordinaires." [1] What Darmesteter means by this passage is this, that there was no empire even before the Achemenians. There were a number of provincial chiefs. Granted. Then, what grounds have Darmesteter to conclude, that the fact, that the Avesta ignores the existence of an Irânian empire, shows, that it was written in the times of the provincial chiefs of the Parthian dynasty? It may, as well, have been written in the times of the provincial chiefs of the *pre*-Achemenian times.

(*c*) Let us look to this question from another point of view. If the present Avesta does not speak of an Irânian empire and of a king of kings, the cuneiform inscriptions do speak of a king of kings ("khsâyathiya khsâyathiyânâm," Behistoun I, 1). Now, if the cuneiform inscriptions recognise an empire and a king of kings, it is clear, that the old writings of the "Grand Avesta" must have also recognised a king of kings. The question then is, Who did away with the mention of this king of kings from the so-called Sassanian Avesta? The answer perhaps would be, that either Valkhash or somebody in the Parthian times, finding the Irânian empire divided into small provincial kingdoms, removed from the Avesta, the passages referring to the king of kings. If that was the case, why did not Tansar, who is represented as taking all possible liberties with the Avesta, re-insert similar passages, which would have been of great use to him in uniting the power and the authority of his new master and emperor Ardeshir. To establish the unity of the empire, he wanted the unity of the church. So, in revising the Avesta, a re-insertion of similar passages ought to have drawn his attention first of all, if he at all took liberty with it by adding to or by modifying the original.

---

[1] Zend Avesta, III., p. xli.

(*B*) We now come to the subject of the Greek elements or the Greek influence upon the Avesta.

1. To support his post-Alexandrian theory, Darmesteter points to the statement about the millenniums, as an instance of Greek influence upon Zoroastrian schools. He refers to the four periods of three thousand years each, referred to by the ancient Persians, as the period of the duration of the world. The *pre*-Alexandrian doctrine of the Persians, described by Theopompus, as quoted by Plutarch runs thus "That Oromasdes ruled for 3,000 years alone and Areimanios for 3,000 more. After this period of 6,000 years had elapsed they began to wage war against each other, one attemptng to destroy the other; but finally Areimanios is to perish, mankind is to enjoy a blessed state of life; men will neither be any more in need of food, nor will they cast shadows; the dead are to rise again, men will be immortal and everything is to exist in consequence of their progress."[1]

The Pahlavi Bundehesh refers to the same doctrine, but, according to Darmesteter it differs in the description of the first two periods. The Bundehesh says: "Aûharmazd through omniscience, knew that Aharman exists, and whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; and because He accomplished the end by many means, He also produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means, and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and, afterwards, he arose from the abyss. and came in unto the light which he saw. Desirous of destroying, and because of his malicious nature, he rushed in to destroy that light of Aûharmazd, unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; so he fled back to the gloomy darkness and formed many demons and fiends,; and the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence." (S. B. E. V., West's Bundehesh, Chap. I., 8-10.)

---

[1] Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., pp. 8-9.

Now, Darmesteter says, that the latter doctrine of the Bundehesh is quite mystical. He says: "That period of spiritual ideal existence of the world, preceding its material and sensible apparition, reminds one strikingly of the Platonic ideas, and it can hardly have entered Zoroastrianism before Greek philosophy penetrated the East." (S.B , E. IV., 2nd ed., Introduction p. lv.)

(*a*) In the first place, Theopompus has made a brief reference to the four periods of the world's duration. He has summed up, in his words, the Zoroastrian doctrine about these periods. So, as long as he has not given any detailed description of these periods, as given by the Bundehesh, one cannot affirm, that there is a difference between these two statements of the same doctrine. The very fact, that he has tried to describe the last two periods and not the first two, rather shows, that perhaps, he did not clearly understand, what Darmesteter calls, " the mystical spirit of the Zoroastrian doctrine."

(*b*) As to the Platonic ideas, one must look to the Farvardin Yasht, which speaks at some length of the Fravashis or Farohars, which are, as Dr. West says, the immaterial existences, the prototypes, the spiritual counterparts of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced, and which are therefore compared to the 'ideas' of Plato. A comparison of some points in the description of the 'ideas' of Plato with those of the Fravashis of the Avesta, will clearly show, whether it is the Avesta or Plato that has borrowed.

Let us see, "of what things," according to Taylor, the best translator of the Parmenides, there are ideas. He says: "There are ideas only of universal and perfect substances and of whatever contributes to the perfection of these, as, for instance, of man and whatever is perfective of man, such as wisdom and virtue." Thus, according to Plato, all perfect substances in the universe have ideas.

In the Avesta, it is the vegetable and the animal world, that has Fravashis, and not the mineral world. The earth has its Fravashi as the home of animal and vegetable life. It is only the life-bearing creation, that has the Fravashis, not the lifeless. To speak scientifically it is the objects of the organic kingdom that have the Fravashis, and not those of the inorganic kingdom.

Now, what is the case with the 'ideas' of Plato? According to Plato all existing objects have their ideas, whether they belong to the organic kingdom or to the inorganic. The ideas are the realities, and the substances of which they are the ideas or models, are non-realities or mere imitations of the ideas.

Again, according to Plato, whatever contributes to the perfection of perfect substances have 'ideas.' For example, not only has a man an 'idea,' but wisdom and virtue, which contribute to the perfection of man, have ideas. So have justice, and beauty, and goodness. Now, in the Avesta, we have nothing like this. We have no Fravashis of these abstract qualities of justice, beauty, or goodness.

Then, what does this show? Has the Avesta borrowed from Plato or Plato borrowed from the Avesta? The system of the Avesta is simple. All the life-bearing or organic substances only have their Fravashis or spiritual parts. The dead people have their Fravashis, because they had them in their living condition. But Plato, as it were, developed his system from that of the Avesta. He extended the notion, even to the objects of the inorganic world, and to qualities which led to perfection, and again mixed up with the question, the notion of realities and non-realities. Thus, we find, that Plato's system is more intricate than that of the Avesta. What conclusion then is possible? That the more developed and intricate system is later than the simple one; that it has worked out its development or completion from the original simple one. Thus one sees, that the Avesta system is older than that of Plato.

Darmesteter attributes these Platonic ideas in the Avesta to the times of the Neo-Platonists, the school founded by Philo Judæus. But we have seen above, that the Farvardin Yasht, a part of which treats of the Fravashis, must have been written long before the Christian era, because the names of kings like Valkhash, who did yeoman's service to the cause of Zoroastrian religion, do not occur there. Therefore, the notion of Fravashis could not have entered into Zoroastrianism through Neo-Platonism.

2. The other instance of Greek elements in the Avesta, which Darmesteter points to, in support of his theory of the post-Alexandrian origin of the Avesta, is that of Vohumano. He supposes, that the definition of Vohumano (Bahaman) in the Avesta is well-nigh the same as that of the Logos of Philo Judæus. From this alleged similarity, he asserts, that Vohumano is the Avesta adaptation of the Platonic Logos, and that, therefore, the Avesta texts, which treat of Vohumano, are of later origin, *i.e.*, of the post-Alexandrian period. Not only that, but all the Amesha-Spentas, of whom Vohumano is a type, also, are a post-Alexandrian development.

(*a*) M. Bréal, in one of his learned articles in the "Journal des Savants" (Dec. 1893, Janvier et Mars 1894), very cleverly refutes this line of Darmesteter's reasoning. We learn from Plutarch, that the notion of the Amesha-Spentas is a pre-Alexandrian, and not a post-Alexandrian development of the ancient Iranian religion. Plutarch in his Isis and Osiris (Chs. XLVI. and XLVII.) makes the following statement about the ancient Persians. From the fact, that all along, Plutarch has been quoting Theopompus of Chios (B. C. 300), M. Bréal thinks Theopompus to be his authority. Haug, however, thinks Hermippos of Smyrna (B. C. 250) to be his authority. Whoever his authority may be, whether Hermippos or Theopompus, a period of about 50 years makes very little difference about the antiquity of this statement. Plutarch says, "Oromasdes sprang out of the purest light; among all things perceived by the senses that element most resembles him; Areimanios sprang out of darkness, and is therefore of the same nature with it. Oromasdes, who resides as far beyond the sun, as the sun is far from the earth, created six gods (the six Ameshe-spentas, the 'archangels'): the god of benevolence (Vohumanô); the god of truth (Asha-vahishta); the god of order (Khshathra-vairya); the god of wisdom (Armaiti); and the god of wealth and delight in beauty (Haurvatât and Ameretât). But to counterbalance him, Areimanios created an equal number of gods counteracting those of Oromasdes. Then Oromasdes decorated heaven with stars, and placed the star Sirius (Tishtrya) at their head as a guardian. Afterwards he created twenty-four other gods (Yazatas) and set them in an egg, but Areimanios forthwith created an equal number of gods, who opened the egg; in consequence of this, evil is always mingled with good." (Haug's Essays, 2nd Edition, pp. 9-10.)

I wonder, why Darmesteter has not given any explanation of this statement of Plutarch, based on the authority of either Theopompus (B. C. 300), or Hermippos (B. C. 250), which clearly destroys the theory of the post-Alexandrian development and of the Neo-Platonic origin of the notion of the Amesha-Spentas. The passage very clearly shows, that the ancient Persians before the time of the Neo-Platonists had the notion, not only of the Amesha-Spentas, but also of the counteracting demons.

(*b*) Again, in considering this subject, we must bear in mind, that the notion of the Amesha-Spentas is a part and parcel of the notion of the two spirits or of the so-called Dualistic theory. Now, this notion of the two spirits, the Spenta Mainyu and the Angra Mainyu, is specially Zoroastrian and pre-Alexandrian. Prof. Darmesteter himself admits this (S. B. E. IV., The Vendidad, 2nd ed., p. lxi.). Therefore the notion of the celestial council of the Amesha-Spentas, which is a part and parcel of the original notion of the two spirits, must be primarily Zoroastrian.

(*c*) There is one other consideration. If the Avesta has borrowed the notion of Vohumano and the Amesha-Spentas from the Greeks, which part of the Avesta it is, that has done so? Prof. Darmesteter does not say, that the whole of the Avesta was written afresh in post-Alexandrian times, but he says that only foreign elements were added. Now, we find the Amesha-Spentas spoken of in a number of passages, in almost the whole of the Avesta. So, if the Amesha-Spentas are a foreign element, then the whole of the Avesta is post-Alexandrian, a conclusion which Darmesteter himself does not admit.

For an explanation, why the Neo-Platonism has some of its notions resèmbling those of the Zoroastrians, one must look to what the Neo-Platonism was based upon. "Taking the sublimer doctrines of Plato as a basis, this school endeavoured to form a new philosophy, which should not olny establish an agreement between Plato and

Aristotle on all leading points of speculation, but also harmonize the Grecian and Oriental modes of thought . . . Neo-Platonism sought to blend in one grand system all systems of philosophy, all systems of religion . . . The value of Neo-Platonism consisted in its endeavour to preserve the whole treasure of every system of philosophy; since it is, in truth, an advance of philosophy, to have gained a large store of different ideas, and a wide review of the different directions of philosophical thought." (*Beeton.*)

"Du III^e siècle de l'ere chrétienne jusqu'a VI^e les Neo-Platoniciens entreprirent de fondre la philosophie orientale avec la philosophie greque. Des tentatives analogues avaient été faites précédemment par des philosophes juivs d'Alexandrie, par Aristotle peut etre et certainement par Philon dans le I^{re} siècle." Herein lies, then, the key why some of the notions of the Avesta resemble those of the Neo-Platonists. It was the Neo-Platonists, who took some of their notions from the Persian religion and philosophy as from other religions and philosophies. Darmesteter has just missed the key-note, and so has tried in vain to find reasons for the similarity of notions in the Avesta and in Neo-Platonism.

(*C*) Now we come to the question of the so-called Indian elements in the Avesta. The above considerations, and the above-quoted statement from Plutarch, destroy the theory, based by Darmesteter, upon the names of the three demons, *viz.*, Indra, Saurva, and Naunghaithya, opposed to the three Amesha-Spentas, Asha Vahissta, Khshathra Vairya and Spenta Armaiti.

(*a*) From the fact, that the names of the three demons are also found in Brahminical works, he thinks that they represent foreign Brahminical element, borrowed by the Avesta in later times. He says "it appears clear thereby that their present character is not the result of a prolonged evolution in the inner circle of Zoroastrianism."[1] The above statement from Plutarch contradicts this *in toto*, and clearly points out that the notion of the Amesha-Spentas and of their counteracting opponents, the "daevas," is specially Zoroastrian and pre-Alexandrian.

(*b*) Again, Darmesteter points to two passages of the Avesta, wherein, he supposes, there are references to Gaotama Buddha and to his religion. Firstly, the word Buity (Vend. XI., 9 (Bundhi); XIX., 43), which he thinks to be the same as Baodha, is a word which refers to one of the evil forces of the soul. The word occurs among other similar words which speak of moral vices. This shows, that it is not a proper noun.

---

[1] S. B. E. IV., Vendidad, 2nd edition, Introduction, p. liii.

(*c*) Again, Darmesteter points to the word Gaotama in the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII., 16), and says that it is a reference to Gaotama Buddha. As it was "under the Indo-Greeks (first century before Christ) that it (Buddhism) spread widely in the eastern provinces of Irân, "and as "in the first century of our era Kanishka's coins present, in an instructive eclectism, all the deities of the Indo-Scythian empire, Greek gods, Brahmanical devas, Buddha, and the principal Yazatas of Mazdeism,"[1] he concludes that "if the alleged allusions to Buddhism are accepted, the Avesta passages, where they occur, cannot have been written earlier than the second century before our era." But then the question is, if the Farvardin Yasht, wherein these passages occur, were written so late as the second century after Christ, why is it that we do not find therein the names of men like Valkhash who had done, according to the Dinkard, important services to the cause of the Zoroastrian religion? The list of the historical personages in the Farvardin Yasht was closed long before the Christian era.

(*D*) Then Darmesteter speaks at some length about what he calls the Jewish elements in the Avesta. This part of the question has been very ably handled lately by learned scholars like Dr. Mills and Dr. Cheyne, who have tried to show that the Jewish scriptures owe a good deal to Zoroastrian scriptures. I will allude to one point only, and close. That is the subject of the Deluge. Darmesteter sees, like others, in the second chapter of the Vendidad, a description of the Deluge. I have shown elsewhere,[2] that though there are several points which are similar in the Hebrew sketch of Noah, and the Avesta sketch of Yama or Jamshed, the second chapter of the Vendidad refers not to the Deluge, but to the founding and building of the city of Airyana-Vaêja.

---

[1] S. B. E. IV., Vendidâd, 2nd edition, Introduction, p. liv.

[2] *Vide* my Jamshed, Hom and Âtash.

The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Irânians.

[*Read*, 17*th June* 1897. *Dr. P. Peterson, in the Chair.*]

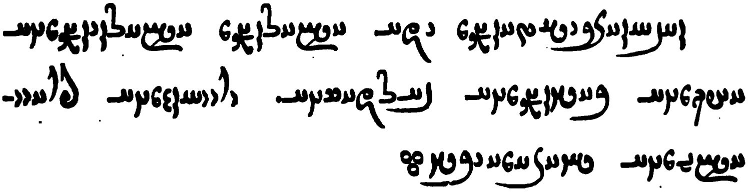
The belief of the ancient Egyptians, about the future of the soul after death, was similar to that of the ancient Persians, in several points. The object of this paper is to determine and examine those points.

I.

Firstly, according to Dr. Wiedemann, the ancient Egyptians believed, that "in addition to his body, man had also an immortal soul. This was not considered, as among most races, a simple entity, but a composite one : in life, the component parts had been united, at death they parted, each to find its own way to the gods."[1] The Avesta has a similar belief. Man is made up of body (*tanu* or *kehrpa*) and soul. As the mortal body is made up of several material parts, so is the immortal soul made up of several spiritual parts or faculties. On death, the body decomposes and its constituents are mixed up with the different so-called elements of this earth, but the soul ascends to heaven, where all its spiritual constituents part company.

According to the ancient Egyptians, the spiritual constituents of the soul are Ka, Âb, Ba, Sakhem, Sâhû, Khaib, Khu and Osiris.[2]

We read in the Avesta :



(Yaçna Ha XXVI.—6.)

"We invoke here the life, conscience, intellect, soul and the guiding spirit of the pious males and females of the Nabânazdishta."

---

[1] Religion of the ancient Egyptians, by Alfred Wiedemann, Ph. D., p. 240.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 242.

We learn from this passage, that the ancient Persians believed in the existence of five spiritual parts in a man. On the death of a man, his body (*tanu*) remains in this world, and the five spiritual faculties go to the spiritual world. These five faculties are as follow:—(1) Anghu, *i.e.*, life or vitality; (2) Daêna, *i. e.*, conscience or the inherent power, which reminds him to do good and shun evil; (3) Baôdhangh, *i. e.*, intellectual faculty; (4) Urvâna, *i. e.*, soul which has the freedom to choose good and evil; and (5) Fravashi, *i. e.*, the guiding spirit.

We will examine, how far some of the Avesta spiritual constituents of the soul agree with the Egyptian constituents.

1. The first of the component parts of a man's soul, according to the Egyptians, was Ka. It corresponds to the Fravashi (Farôhar) of the Avesta in several ways.

(*a*) The Egyptian Ka was imagined to be "similar to a man and yet not a man." According to the ancient Persians, the Fravashi of a person is the exact prototype of that person and yet not that person himself. On the ruins of the Achemenian palaces, we see pictures of kings worshipping God. Opposite to them and a little above, hovering in the air, we see winged figures which are the exact prototypes of the worshipping monarchs. These figures are the Fravashis of the monarchs. They are similar to the monarchs but not the monarchs themselves.

(*b*) The Ka "was believed to be an indispensable constituent of every being which had life, Kas being ascribed to the gods themselves."[1] This is true of the Fravashis as well. According to the Fravardin Yasht we have the Fravashis of all living beings. Even the Yazatas, *i. e.*, the angels, the Ameshaspentas, *i. e.*, the archangels, and Ahura Mazda, the Lord himself, have their Fravashis. (Yaçna XXIII.—2).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"I invoke with praise the Fravashis of Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspentas, together with all the holy Fravashis of the heavenly Yazatas."

---

[1] Wiedemann, p. 242.

(c) Again, with respect to Ka the Egyptians believed, that man "included a second self able to pass through walls or barriers bound neither by time nor space, and which might exist for thousands of years."[1] This is true, to a certain extent, of the Fravashi of the Avesta. The Fravashi of a man existed thousands of years after his death. Not only that, but it existed long before his birth. The birth of a man is not a new event in the history of creation. His Fravashi was created by God with the creation of the world. It existed somewhere in the universe, helping in the work of creation. With the birth of the man, it came into existence in this world, and after his death, it still existed somewhere in the universe; and irrespective of time and space, it came to this world, when piously invoked by the living.

(d) "The Ka, which had been the companion of the body in life, at death attained to independent existence. It was to the Ka that funeral prayers and offerings were made."[2] This is true of the Fravashi of the Avesta. In the Fravardin Yasht, wherein the departed worthies of ancient Irân are remembered, it is their Fravashis or Farôhârs that are invoked, and not their *ravâns* or souls in simple entity. It is in honour of the Fravashis, that the funeral prayers and offerings are made.

2. Âb, or heart, was the second of the immortal parts of an Egyptian's soul. According to Wiedemann, "a distinct doctrine was gradually formulated as to the part played by the heart in the next world and how it was to be recovered by its owner. This taught, that after death the heart led an independent existence, journeying alone through the Underworld until it met the deceased in the Hall of Judgment."

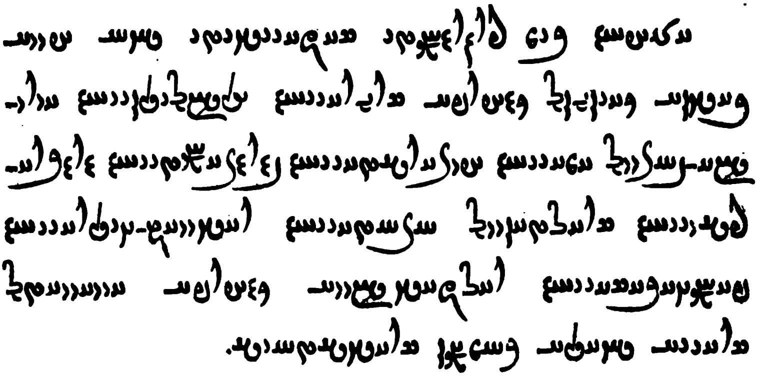
From this description, it appears, that the Egyptian Âb corresponds to the Daêna or conscience of the Avesta[3] in several ways. (*a*) Just as theEgyptian Âb journeys alone and meets the deceased in the Hall of Judgment, so we find from the Avesta and Pahlavi books, that Daêna, after being separated at death, meets the deceased again on the third day after death in the Judgment Hall before Meher Dâvar, *i. e.*, Meher the Judge.

If the deceased has led a good and virtuous life, his Daêna or conscience appears before him in the form of a handsome maiden. We read in the Vishtâsp Yasht (Yt. XXIV.—56):

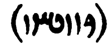
---

[1] Wiedemann, p. 240. [2] Wiedemann, p. 241.

[3] The Pahlavi equivalents of Daêna are *kunashnê* or *kerdâr*, *i. e.*, deeds.

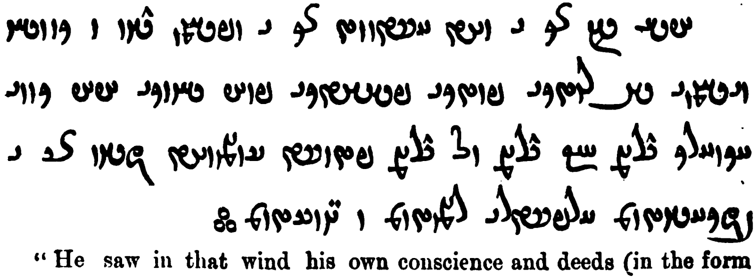


"It appears to him, as if, in that (wind) comes his own Daêna (conscience), in the form of a maiden, that is handsome, beautiful, white-armed, brave, well-formed, tall, with large breasts and well-formed body, well-born, of noble descent, of fifteen years of age, as beautiful in the growth of her body as the most beautiful object in creation."

The Hâdôkht Nask (II., 22-23) and Virâf-nâmeh (IV., 18-20) give similar passages. The Minokherad says the same thing about the Kunashnê () of a deceased person (II., 125). Here Kunashnê is the Pahlavi equivalent of the Avesta Daêna, and means one's deed, or actions.

The Vendidâd (XIX., 29-30) also gives a similar passage, but the word there used is Baodhangh, which, though one of the immorta constituents of the soul, is, according to the Avesta, a little different from Daêna. The Vendidâd seems to use it as an equivalent of Daêna

Again, if the deceased has led a bad and vicious life, his Daêna appears before him in the form of a hideous ugly woman, We read in Virâf-nâmeh (XVII., 12 Hoshangji and Haug's Text p. 46).



"He saw in that wind his own conscience and deeds (in the form of) a woman, loose, dirty, polluted, furious, with bent knees, backhipped, so endlessly spotted that one spot over-reached another spot as if she were a polluted, dirty, stinking, noxious animal."

The Minokherad also says that in the case of a vicious man, his conscience appears before him in the form of an unmaidenly maiden (II., 167 Foster Dârâb's Text p. 14). [illegible]

This is what is termed a "noble allegory" by Dr. Cheyne, who thinks, that "at any rate, this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bards of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bards of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies." (The Bampton Lectures.—The Origin of the Psalter (1891), p. 437.)

(*b*) Again, the belief of the Egyptians, about this Âb (Heart), was, that "it is not the heart which sins, but only its fleshly envelope. The heart was and still remained pure and in the Underworld accused its earthly covering of any impurities contracted. Only if the latter was pure did it return to its place ; otherwise it probably dwelt in a place set apart as the Abode of Hearts and so devoted its former possessor to destruction."

Well nigh similar is the case with the Daêna, or conscience of the Avesta. When it appears before the deceased, in the form of a woman, on the third day after death, at the time of his being judged by Mehêr the Judge, she gives credit to the deceased for her being comely and handsome or accuses him for her being ugly and irksome, according as the man is virtuous or vicious.

In the case of a virtuous man, his Daêna (conscience), appearing in the form of a beautiful damsel, praises the good actions of the deceased, or, as the Egyptians said, gives evidence in favour of the deceased and gives to him all the credit for her being handsome. She says, "I am thy good thoughts, good words and good deeds . . . . thou hast made me more lovely, more beautiful, more desirable, &c." (Hâdôkt Nask II., 25-30). In the same way, in the case of a vicious man, his Daêna or conscience, appearing before him in the form of an ugly woman, accuses him of having made her ugly and filthy. She says, "Oh man of evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds ! I am thy bad deeds. It is on account of thy desire and deeds that I am ugly and hideous, &c." (Virâf-Nâmeh XVII., 14, 15).

---

[1] Wiedemann, p. 287.

3. The third component immortal part of a man, was, according to the Egyptians, the Ba, which, Prof. Wiedemann says, "corresponds to our idea of the soul. It was imagined as being in the form of a bird usually with human head." This Ba of the Egyptians corresponds to the Urvân, (ravân) or, 'soul, of the Persians, but there is one important difference, *viz.*, that when the Egyptians imagined the Ba, *i. e.*, the Avesta Urvan, or soul, to be in the form of a bird, the ancient Persians imagined the Fravashi (the Ka of the Egyptians) to be in the form of a bird.

According to the Fravardin Yasht (Yt. XIII., 70), when a pious king invokes the Fravashis to his help, "they fly to his help in the form of a bird-like man with good wings."

[illegible]

[illegible]

4. The Sekhem was another important immortal component of the soul among the Egyptians. According to Wiedemann, it is "the personified power of strength of the deceased." This seems to correspond with the "Anghu" of the Avesta, which is the life-giving faculty or the power of vitality. In chapter LV of the Yaçna (s. 1), where the mortal and the immortal component parts of a man's body and soul are spoken of, we have the word 'Tevishi' used in the place of 'Anghu', in the passage, we have quoted in the beginning. This shows that 'Tevishi' was understood to be an equivalent of 'Anghu.'

Now the word 'Tevishi' derived from 𐬙𐬀𐬬 = त توانستن *i. e.*, to be able, to be strong, means 'strength or power.' This, then, corresponds exactly with the Sekhem of the Egyptians, as described by Wiedemann.

5. Now, there remains one word of the Avesta passage, which remains to be compared, and that is Baodhangh. But, as we said above, the Vendidâd uses the term as an equivalent of Daêna. In the above passage of the Yaçna (LV., 1) also, the word Daêna is altogether omitted, and the word 'Baodhaugh' is used. This shews, that there was a very slight shade of difference between Daêna and Baodhangh as two immortal component parts of the soul.

II.

The next point, wherein the Avesta and Egyptian beliefs about the future of the soul agree, is that of the judgment after death.

According to the Egyptians, the deceased went before Osiris to be judged for his past actions.[1] According to the Avesta, it is before Mithra or Mehêr, that the souls of the deceased appear to be judged.

(*a*) It is said that an ancient name of Osiris was Hysiris, which meant 'many-eyed.' In the same way, according to the Avesta, Mithra was called Baêvarê-Chashmana, *i. e.*, "a thousand-eyed."

(*b*) Again, Osiris was considered to be a Divinity of the Sun;[2] so was Mithra acknowledged to be the angel presiding over Light. Mithra is always associated with Hvarê-khshaêta or Khorshed, *i. e.*, the Sun.

(*c*) Osiris holds a sceptre and a flail which is a club-like instrument, as symbols of his power.[3] Mithra also has his 'vazra,' *i. e.*, mace, or club, as a symbol of authority to be struck over "the heads of vicious persons" (Kamêrêdha paitî daêvanâm, Khorshed Nyâish, 15).

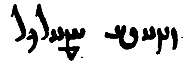
(*d*) As Osiris has a weighing scale before him to weigh the good and the bad actions of a person,[4] so has Mithra one (*tarâzinitârih*) before him (Minôkherad II., 119).

(*e*) Both, among the Egyptians and the ancient Persians, the souls of the deceased are led before the presiding judge by some god or angel. Among the Egyptians, it is Annubis, that leads them before Osiris, and among the ancient Persians, it is Sraosh, Râm and Behrâm, that lead them before Mithra (Minokherad II., 115).

(*f*) Osiris is helped in his work of Judgment by some other gods. So is Mithra helped by some other Yazatas, *i. e.*, angels (Virâf, V., 5).

It is Anubis that is in charge of the weighing scales among the, Egyptians. It is Rashnê that holds this office among the Persians, Virâf, V., 5.)

It is Horus among the Egyptians, that superintents the work of weighing. It is Âstâd among the Persians, that does the similar work. As the Horus of the Egyptians is a god of truth, so the Âstâd, of the Persians, is an angel of justice and truth.

Among the Egyptians, Thoth acts as a scribe of the gods and sets down the result of the proceedings. Among the Persians, Mithra[5] himself is an account-taker.  *nyôkhsh hamârgar* (Dadistan-i-Dini XIV., 3).

---

[1] Wiedemann, p. 217.

[2] Wiedemann, p. 215.

[3] Wiedemann, p. 217, 248.

[4] P. 248.

[5] The names of the Zoroastrian angels taking a part in the work of judgment, suggest another of comparison between the ancient Egyptians

2. In both the nations, the souls of the deceased go into the Higher world repeating some words expressive of their feeling. According to the Egyptians, the deceased, while entering the Judgment Hall[1] said:

"Hail to you, ye lords of the Two Truths! Hail to the Great God Lord of the Two Truths . . . . I bring unto you Truth, I destroy the Evil for you."

Compare with these, the words of a pious soul among the Zoroastrians. Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi ushtâ-kahmâi-chit, *i. e.*, "Hail to him who (brings) happiness to others." (Yaçna XLIII., 1.)

III.

Both the nations believed in Resurrection. As Pettigrew says:. "Believing in the immortality of the soul, the ancient Egyptians conceived that they were retaining the soul within the body as long as the form of the body could be preserved entire, or were facilitating the reunion of it with the body, at the day of resurrection, by preserving the body from corruption."

Thus we see that one of the two objects, and the principal object, of the Egyptians, in preserving their bodies entire, as mummies, was to provide for the resurrection. They embalmed and preserved not only

---

and Zoroastrians. According to both, the days of the month and the months are assigned to some gods or angels.

According to Herodotus (II., 82 Bary's translation (1889) p. 125), "each month and day is assigned to some particular god" among the Egyptians. We find the same among the Zoroastrians. All the 30 days of a Parsee month and all the 12 months of a Parsee year are named after particular 'yazatas' or angels.

The Egyptians intercalated five whole days at the end of the three hundred and sixty days of the Egyptian year. As Dr. Wiedemann says, "The old Egyptian year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and in order to bring this into closer conformity with the true year there were added to it the so-called Epagomenal days, which even at an early period were celebrated in certain temples as those on which the five gods of the Osirian cycle were born" (p. 21).

The Zoroastrians have a similar intercalation of the year, and even now the last five days of the year so added, known as the 'gâthâ' days, are celebrated in the temples as the most sacred of the Parsee holidays. They are named after the five 'gâthâs' or sacred hymns, in honour of God and His Realm written by Zoroaster himself.

[1] A History of Egyptian Mummies, by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, p. 13.

the body, which they called Kha (or Xa), but also the intestines, the heart, lungs and liver.[1] These four internal organs were, as it were, given at the time of burial in the charge of four gods to be preserved entire, and to be reproduced at the time of resurrection.

Now, the ancient Persians also believed in Resurrection, but they did not think it necessary to preserve the dead bodies entire for that purpose. At first, they thought, that the preservation of the bones was sufficient for the purpose of resurrection. One Saoshyant, who will appear at the end of this cycle, will raise the dead from their bones (Ast). He was called Astvat-ereta, *i. e.*, one, who makes the possessors of bones rise up. Hence arose, at one time, in ancient Persia the custom of preserving the bones (Ast. आस्थि L. *os* استخوان in Astodâns or Ossuaries.[2])

Latterly, the necessity of preserving bones in separate *Astodâns* (receptacles of bones) or ossuaries was, gradually done away with, and we find that the Bundehesh gives a more rational way of dealing with the ancient belief of raising the dead from the bones. It says, that when God will resuscitate this world and raise the dead, he would do so from the material of this earth, to which the different material components of a man's body are entrusted. It says that at the time of the resurrection, when the dead will be made to rise again, their bones will be claimed from the earth, where they have been reduced to the state of dust, their blood from water, their hair from trees and their life from fire (S. B. E. V. West Chap. XXX., 6).

IV.

Now rises the question, How shall we account for the above points of marked similarity between the beliefs of these two ancient nations, the Egyptians and the Persians?

The answer is, that both these nations had their homes in Central Asia. The ancient Egyptians were Asiatics by origin and not Africans. Wilkinson[3] says :—" Every one who considers the features, the language and other peculiarities of the ancient Egyptians, will feel convinced that they are not of African extraction, but that they bear the evident stamp of an Asiatic orign . . . . And if features and other external appearances are insufficient to establish this fact, the formation of the skull, which is decidedly of the Caucasian variety, must remove all doubts of their valley having been peopled from the East . . . . There has always been a striking resemblance between the Egyptians and Asiatics, both as to their manners, customs, language and religion; and some authors have considered the valley they inhabited to belong to Asia rather than to Africa. . . . In manner, language, and many other respects, Egypt was certainly more Asiatic than African. It is not improbable that those two nations (the Hindus and Egyptians) may have proceeded from the same original stock and have migrated southwards from their parent country in Central Asia."

---

[1] Wiedemann, p. 234-35.

[2] *Vide* my paper on " A Persian Coffin said to be 3,000 years old sent to the Museum of the Society by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire," in the Journal of the Anthropological Society, Vol. I., No. 7.

[3] Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, by J. G. Wilkinson, Vol. I., p. 3.

Not only were they foreigners to a certain extent in Africa, but in their adopted country of Egypt itself, they, as Dr. Wiedemann says, "did not exclude foreign deities from their pantheon. They never questioned the divinity of the gods of the races with which they came in contact, but accepted it in each case as an established fact. To them, an exceptionally powerful nation was in itself a proof of that nation's possession of an exceptionally mighty god, whom the dwellers in the Valley of the Nile were, therefore, eager to receive into the ranks of Egyptian deities, that they might gain his protection for themselves by means of prayers and offerings and at the same time alienate his affection from his native land."[1]

Among the deities of the Asiatic origin, so adopted, was one Astarte which was the Ardviçura Anâhita of the ancient Persians, the Anâitis of the Romans.

---

[1] Wiedemann, p. 148.

The Cities of Irân as described in the old Pahlavi Treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Airân.

[*Read 26th January* 1898. *Dr. Gerson Da Cunha in the Chair.*]

I.

"Shatrôihâ-i-Airân," or "The Cities of Irân," is the name of an old Pahlavi treatise, lately published for the first time, with some other Pahlavi treatises by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known cities of Western and Central Asia, that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians. It has not been hitherto translated in any language.[1] The object of this paper is to identify these cities, and to give a few points of geographical and historical importance about them, as presented by this treatise.

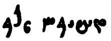
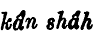
This treatise seems to have been written a long time after the Mahomedan conquest of Persia. In the Pahlavi Bundehesh,[2] the country of Syria is spoken of as Sûristân ([illegible]), *i. e.*, the country of Suria or Syria, just as Cabulistân is the country of Cabul. It is spoken of, as the country, from which the Frât or the Euphrates runs. Shâm is the name given to Syria by Mahomedan writers. According to Maçoudi,[3] Syria was called Shâm شام because it is situated on the left (*chimal*) of Kaabah; and Yemen was so called, because it is situated on the right (yemin) of Kaabah. The king of Yemen

---

[1] The late lamented Dr. Darmesteter has translated two passages in his "Textes Pehlvis relatifs au Judaisme," (Revue des Études Juives, T. XVIII.) Deuxième Parlie, p. 41.

[2] Justi, p. 51, l. 13. S. B. E. V., Ch. XX., 10. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 92.

[3] Maçoudi, traduit par B. De Meynard, Vol. III., p. 139.

(Arabia Felix) is spoken of in the Pahlavi books as *tâzikân malek*[1]  or "*tâzikân shâh*" , *i. e.*, the king of the Arabs. But in this treatise, these countries are known, not by their old names of Sûristân and "the country of the Tâziks," but by their later names of Shâm and Yemen. This fact then shews, that it was written after the time of Mahomed, when these new names came into use. In what is called, the Irânian or the grand Bundehesh, the name Shâm does occur once (S. B. E., Vol. XLVII., p. 151, n. 3), but the word seems to have been miswritten for Âmi, which is found in the later copies. That it is a mistake of the last revising Editor, appears from the fact, that, he says, that the land of Surak was called Shâm. Now the land of Surak, from which the river Arag is represented as flowing, is evidently the country of Sogdiana and not Syria. Nevertheless, the fact remains, that, though there is a mistake in the identification, yet the name "Shâm" was known to the revising Editor of the Bundehesh. But, in that case, we must remember, that the revising Editor seems to have done his work, as late as the end of the ninth century.[2] So, it is possible, that the Pahlavi writers began to use the name in the ninth cntury. That probably is the date of our treatise.

Again, we find in no other Pahlavi work, the name of Africa, which is here called "Farikâ." Many Persian writers even, when they spoke of Africa, spoke of it, as the country of the Magreb, or the West. Just as at present, the European nations speak of Turkey and the adjoining countries, as the East, and of China and Japan, as the Further East, so, the ancient Asiatic authors spoke of Africa—of course, by Africa, they understood only Egypt and the northern portion of Africa, with which they had come into contact—as, the Magreb, or the country of the West. The country of Egypt is spoken of in some Pahlavi books as Misr, but the term Africa is not used at all. Therefore, the use of this name in our book, also points to its later origin, at a time when the name Africa began to be used more commonly in Persia, after the Mahomedan conquest. It is noteworthy, that among the places mentioned in our books, the name of Egypt or Misr is conspicuous by its absence, though the country was, at one time, ruled over by the ancient Persians. So, it appears, that by the name Farika or Africa, which laterly became common in Persia, our author meant the country of Egypt. According to Maçoudi, the country had derived its name from one Afrike, son of Abrahah (افریقی بن ابرهه), who had founded it.

---

[1] Dinkard. Tehmuras's MS. extra leaves after p. 308. S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 28. Bk. VIII., Ch. XIII., 9. Binâ-i-Farvardin Yûm-i-Khurdad—Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 103, s. 14.

[2] S. B. E., Vol. V. West. Bundehesh Introduction, p. 43. *Vide* my Bundehesh Introduction, pp. 18-19.

There is one other city, an allusion to which in the book, points to the fact, that the book could not have been written, or at least finished, earlier than the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the eighth century. It is the town of Bagdâd. Its foundation is attributed to one Abou Jâfar, who was also called Abou Davânik. This personage was the Khalif Abou Jaffer Mansour, who had, according to Ebn Haukal,[1] built the celebrated city since the introduction of Islâm. This is the only town in the list of the cities of this book, the foundation of which is attributed to a Mahomedan ruler. Our book gives Abou Davânik, as the other name of this prince, and it is confirmed by Tabari (Zotenberg IV, p. 324), according to whom, his whole name was Abou Dja'far Mançour Abou'l Dawâniq. Now this prince began to reign in Hijri 136 (A. D. 754), and built the town of Bagdâd in Hijri 145 (A. D. 763). This shows, then, that the book must have been written at the end of the eighth century or in the ninth century.

II.

Altogether 111 cities are referred to in this treatise. Out of this number, 52 are enumerated with the names of the founders of most of them. With few exceptions, these cities are grouped in large divisions. The first three divisions are separated by the common use of the words "In the direction of" (*pavan kostê*).

The first group is that of the cities of Khorâsân, which is considered to be a very large province. As Kinneir says, "The vast province of Khorassan has for its boundaries the Oxus and country of Bulkh, to the N. E. and E., Cabul and Seistan to the S., and to the W. the provinces of Irak, Asterabad, and Dahestan."[2] The cities mentioned as those belonging to Khorasân are 17. They are the following:— Samarcand, a city in Balkh,[3] Khvarzem, Maruv-rud, Meruv (Merv), Harâi (Herat), Pushen (Pusheng), Tûs (Mashad) Nio-Shâpuhar (Nishâpur), Kâin, Dahistân, Komis, and five cities bearing the name of Khusrui.

---

[1] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 66.

[2] A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, by Kinneir, p. 169.

[3] The Pahlavi name can be taken as that of Bokhârâ also.

The second group is that of the cities in the direction of Khurbarân, *i. e.*, Khâvar (Pavan kost-i-Khurbarân). Khâvar is the name of a district in Khorasân. But the very first name in this group, *viz.*, Ctesiphon, shows that it is not the district of that name, that is mentioned here. Here, the word is used as a commom noun in the sense of "the west." In this group of the western cities, we find the following :—

Ctesiphon.

Sasûr (Sarsur).

Hirleh (Hilleh).

Bâwir (Babylon).

Hairat or Hirat (Hira).

Hamdân.

One city in Mâh in the direction of Nehâvand and in the district of Vahrâm-âvand.

Twenty cities in the country of Pâdashkvârgar (the mountain district on the south of the Caspian, including the provinces of Tabaristân, Mâzandarân, and Ghelân).

Mosul.

Nine cities in Jazeeréh (Mesopotamia).

Twenty-four cities in the land of Syria, Africa, Cufa, Mecca, and Medineh.

The third group of cities is that of Nimruz or Seistân. As Sir F. J. Goldsmid says, "It is somewhat embarrassing at the present day, to define the limits of the province of Sistân. We may suppose two territories, one compact and concentrated, which may be termed 'Sistan Proper,' the other detached and irregular, which may be termed 'Outer Sistan.'" [1]

The following are the cities of Seistân :—

Cavul (Cabul), Râvad (Rebat), Bost, Fariâv (Fariâb), Zavulastân, and Zarang (Dooshak).

---

[1] ,, Journey from Bunder Abbas to Meshed by Sistan," by Sir F. J. Goldsmid. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XXII., p. 88.

The fourth group is that of the towns of Kirmân and Pârs. It contains the following towns :—

Kerman, Veh Artashir, Stâkhar (Istakhar or Persepolis), Dârâbgird near Shiraz, Vish-Shâpuhar, Artashir Gadman or Firouzâbâd, and Touj.

The fifth group forms the towns of Khuzistân, which are the following :—

Oharmazd-Artashir or Ahwâz, Râm Oharmazd, Shus, Shuster, Vandu-i-Shâpuhar, Airân-kird-Shâpuhar, Nâhar Tirak, Simlân, Kharâyast, Askar (Askar Moukarram), Veh (Hey), Gaê (Ispahân), Khajrân (Kazeroun), Adjân, and Kard.

The sixth and the last group contains towns, which cannot be ascribed to any one province. They belong to different provinces in different directions. They are the following :—

Ashkar (2nd), Âtaropâtakân (Âdarbaijân), Ninav (Nineveh), Ganjêh, Âmui (Amul), and Bagdâd.

III.

We will now speak of the cities in detail.

Samarcand.—Our Pahlavi book attributes the foundation of Samarcand to Kâus of Kobâd of the Kyânian dynasty of Persia, and its completion to his son, Siâvakhsh. Tabari says, that Samarcand was founded in the reign of Kobâd, but he attributes its foundation to one Samar (Schamar), a general of Tobba abou-Karib, a king of Yemen.[1] Maçoudi also attributes its foundation to Samar.[2] Tabari, later on, says, that Alexander the Great founded it. When oriental writers speak of the foundation of a city, we must not always understand by that term, its original foundation, but its being rebuilt or decorated or enlarged. Edrisi says this more clearly: " Samarcande doit sa fondation au Toba-el-Akbar[3] (roi de l' Arabie Heureuse), et ses progrès à Dhoul-Carneïn (Alexandre le Grand)."[4]

The Shâh-nâmeh throws no further light on the question of the foundation of Samarcand. What we learn from this book, is merely this, that at one time, it belonged to the Persians, that latterly Afrâsiâb, the Turânian, had taken it away from their hands, and that in accordance with one of the terms of peace made with Siâvakhsh, the son of Kâus, it went back into the hands of the Persians.[1] It appears then, that Kâus must have begun building it, when it was captured by Afrâsiâb, and that Siâvakhsh finished it, on regaining it, according to the terms of peace. Though Tabari, Maçoudi, Edrisi, and Firdousi do not directly support our Pahlavi book in its statement, that Kâus founded it, other oriental writers do. "Samarkand remonte à la plus haute antiquité. Les annales de l'Orient musulman en rapportent la fondation sous le nom de Sogdo (d' ou Sogdiane) à l' époque heroïque de l'histoire persane, en l'attribuant au Këïanide Keï-Kaous fils de Keï-Koubad.[2]

---

[1] Tabari par Zotenberg II., pp. 31, 32, 157.

[2] Maçoudi par Barbier de Meynard I., p. 352.

[3] He is the same as the Tobba abou-Karib, of Tabari, the master of Samar.

[4] Géopraphie d'Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 198.

There is one statement about Samarcand in this new treatise, which throws some light upon the locality of one of the two celebrated libraries of ancient Persia.

We find, what Dr. West calls, "The Traditional History of the Zoroastrian Scriptures" in several Pahalavi books.[3] According to that history, when Zoroaster revealed his new religion, Kaî Vishtâsp, the then ruler of Persia, asked him to write down the scriptures. The king ordered, that the original be kept in the treasury of Shapigân or Shaspigân, and that an authentic copy be deposited in Dazh-i-Napisht, *i.e.*, the castle of written documents. Thus, two great libraries were established, the one of Shapigân, and the other of Dazh-i-Napisht. On the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great, who, on account of the devastations that he committed, is termed "the evil-destined villain" (*mâr-i-dush-gadman*) and "the cursed (*gazashtê*) Alexiedar," the latter was destroyed by fire by his troops.

The books in the library, attached to the treasury of Shapigân, fell into the hands of the Arumans, *i.e.*, the Greeks of those provinces, which latterly formed a part of the Eastern Empire of the Romans, and they were translated into Greek. Our Pahlavi book also refers to this traditional history in a few words. It says that the foundation of the city of Samarcand, which is situated in the province of Khorasân (or the Eastern districts), was laid by king Kâus of Kobâd, and that the city was completed by his son Siâvakhsh. Kaikhosru, the son of Siâvakhsh, was born there, and he had built therein a glorious fire-temple. The book then proceeds to say:

---

[1] Mohl. II., p. 272, ll. 923-24. The ruins of Afrâsiâb are still pointed out to travellers at Samarcand. "Through the Heart of Asia," by Bonvalot, (Vol. II., pp. 7, 31.)

[2] Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle (1892). *Vide* the word Samarkand.

[3] Dinkard Bk. III., Haug's Introduction to the Zend Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Dr. Hoshangji, pp. xxxi.-xxxviii. West's Dinkard, S. B. E., Vol. xxxvii., pp. xxx.-xxxi., pp. 412-413. Ardai Virâf Nâmeh, chap. I., 1-15. *Vide* Tansar's letter to the King of Tabaristan, Journal Asiatique, Neuvième Série Tome III. (March, April, May, June, 1894). p. 516.

"In the end, Zoroaster brought the religion and by the order of king Vishtâsp wrote 1,200 '*pargards*' (chapters) of religious writings on golden tablets and deposited them in the treasury of that Fire-temple. At last the accursed Sikandar (Alexander) burnt and threw into the river the (collection of the) religious writings (Dinkard) of seven kings." (*Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zorirân, &c., p. 55.)

This passage, not only repeats, what is already said in the above-named Pahlavi works about the early part of the traditional history of the Zoroastrian scriptures, but says something more. It says, that the writings burnt by Alexander were not only those of Zoroaster alone, but also the religious literature collected by seven kings.[1]

Now, where were the two libraries of the Zoroastrian books situated? The one of the Dazh-i-Napisht, which was burnt by Alexander, was situated, according to the Dinkard, in the country of Irân (*Airân Shatra.* The Zend Pahlavi Glossary, XXXII.). It appears from the Ardâi Virâf-Nâmeh (ch. I., 4), that the city of Irân, in which it was situated, was Stâkhar-i-Pâpakân, *i. e.*, Istakhar or Persepolis of Ardesir Bâbegân. As to the second library, *viz.*, that of Shaspigân, its situation has not been as yet settled. Dr. Haug[2] thought, that Shaspigân "was, perhaps, the name of the fort at Pasargadæ where Cyrus was buried." But our book seems to settle the question, and says, that the other library was at Samarcand. It was attached to the great fire-temple of that city, founded originally by king Kaikhosru. Samarcand, though, now and then, under the territories belonging to Irân, was not, strictly speaking, a city of Irân (*Irân Shatra*), as Istakhar was. It was, now and then, a Turânian city. Hence, it is, that the library of Dazh-i-Napisht is specially spoken of, as situated in the city of Irân, as distinguished from the library of Shaspigân, situated in Samarcand, which was more a Turânian city than an Irânian one.

---

[1] Though the number of kings mentioned here is seven, we find later on that the names of eight kings are enumerated. They are Jam (Jamshed) Azidahâka (Zohâk), Feridun, Minocheher, Kâus, Kai Khosru, Lohrâsp, and Vishtâsp. The reason, why, though eight kings are enumerated, the religious writings (Dinkard) of only seven kings are said to have been collected, is, that the King Azidahâk or Zohâk is not taken into consideration. The names of the prominent kings of Irân, commencing from Jamshed, are mentioned one by one, and Azidahâk's name is also mentioned as that of a prominent king, but he was an irreligious monarch, and so, as such, could not have written or collected any religious works. The fact, that Azidahâk is not considered by the author to have been a monarch, who contributed anything to the collection of religious writings in the library attached to the fire-temple in Samarcand, is clear from the fact, that, while we find in the text, the words '*zak-i*' (that of, *i.e.*, the *khudâi* or sovereignty of), repeated before all the monarchs, we do not find them repeated before the name of Azidahâka.

[2] Zand Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Hoshangji, Introduction, p. XXXVI. n. 2.

But, there is one difficulty, presented by our text, which would prevent us from settling the question, that the Shaspigân Library was situated in Samarcand. It is this, that our text says of the Samarcand Library also, that it was burnt by Alexander, and not only that, but that its contents were thrown into the river. As a matter of fact, we know that the Shaspigân Library was not immediately burnt by Alexander, but that most of its books were translated by the Greeks into their own language, and that it was some of these translations, that Tansar or Taôsar made use of, in reviving the ancient literature of Irân in the reign of Ardesir Bâbegân.[1] I think, that the writer of our Pahlavi treatise has committed a mistake in saying, that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander. The mistake seems to me to have arisen from the fact of mistaking one place for another, their names being identical. We have seen, that the library burnt was that of Dazh-i-Napisht, situated in Istakhar. Now, it appears from Ebn Haukal's Oriental Geography,[2] that there is near Samarcand also, a district of the name of Istakhar, and that there is also a river of that name passing from the district. This identity of the names of two places, seems to have led the author of the Pahlavi treatise, into the mistake of saying, that the library of Samarcand was burnt by Alexander, and not only that, but that its contents were thrown into the river. The statement in the older books of the Dinkard and the Virâf-Nameh, that the library (of Dazh-i-Napisht) at Istakhar was burnt by Alexander, seems to have led the author to the mistake of taking one Istakhar for another, the Istakhar of Pars for the Istakhar of Samarcand. Thus then, our treatise seems to settle the question of the locality of the library of Shaspigan, the second library of Irân.

---

[1] *Vide* my paper on "The Antiquity of the Avesta," in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. 52. *Vide* above pp. 111-136.

[2] Sir Wm. Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, pp. 255-256.

Balkh or Bokhârâ.—The second city of Khorasân, referred to in our treatise, is Bâkhar-i-Nâmîk (ویهید وریعی). It is the beautiful Bâkhdhi (*Bâkhdhim Srirâm*) of the Vendidâd (I, 7), spoken of, as Bâkhar-i-Nyôk (ویرد وریعی) in the Pahlavi translation. This Bâkhar or Bâkhal of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, is identified by some with Balkh, and by others with Bokhârâ. One manuscript of the Pahlavi Vendidâd in my possession, identifies the Bâkhdhi of the Avesta with both Balkh and Bokhârâ (ویرد وریعده رلده Balkh Bokhârâ nyôk). Now, if we take this city to be Balkh, Maçoudi speaks of it, as بلخ الحسنا *i.e.*, the beautiful Balkh [1], which epithet corresponds to the Srirâm (ملیلسه *i. e.*, the beautiful) of the Avesta.

Coming to the name of its founder, we find, that our book attributes the foundation of a place called Novâzak in this city to Asfandiâr, the son of King Gushtâsp. No other oriental work connects the name of Asfandiâr with Balkh. Maçoudi, Yakout [2] and Mirkhond [3] attribute the foundation of Balkh to Lohrâsp, the grandfather of Asfandiâr. Lohrâsp was therefore called Balkhi by some. According to the same historians, some attribute its foundation to Kayomars, some to Kâus, and some to Alexander the Great. According to Kinneir some oriental writers attribute it to Taimuras.[4]

According to Tabari[5], Lohrâsp built there a residence, which he called Housnâ (حسنا). This is the Al Hasnâ (الحسنا) of Maçoudi, above referred to. Cazvini attributes its foundation to Kaiomars. [6]

---

[1] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard II., p. 121.

[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard. p. 112.

[3] Shea's Mirkhond, p. 59. Munshi Naval Kishore's Lucknow Edition of 1874, Vol. I, p. 150

فرقهٔ از اهلِ تاریخ بر آنند که بلخ را لهراسپ بنا کرده است

[4] Kinneir's Persian Empire. p. 187. The Novâzak, referred to here, may be the Nuwâzi (Fire-temple) of the coins. (Numismatic Illustrations of the Sassanians, by E. Thomas, p. 17.)

[5] Tabari, par Zotenberg I., p. 491.

[6] Ouseley's Travels II., p. 372.

Asfandiâr is callad Nizehvar (*i. e.*, a good lancer) in the Afrins ([illegible]). Our work explains, why this epithet was applied to him. It says, that he pointed his lance to king Arjâsp and his accomplices (Yasht, IX. 30, 31), saying, that if they would not respect the new religion of Zoroaster, he would punish them with his lance.

Khârzem.—The foundation of Khârzem is attributed to the Resh of the Yahoudgân, *i.e.*, to the chief of the Jews. The Pahlavi word [illegible][1] is the Hebrew ראש Arabic ريش *i.e.*, the chief. We find this word in many Hebrew words denoting the titles of Jewish chiefs, *e.g.*, Resh Metibta, *i.e.*, the chief of the Session, Resh Kalla (professor), Resh Galutha, *i.e.*, the chief of the Exiles.[2] At times, it was also used with the proper names of Jewish dignitaries. For example, Simeon Ben Lakish, a Jewish dignitary, was known as Resh Lakish. Of all these Reshes or chiefs, the rank of Resh Galutha ראש גלותא *i.e.*, the Exilarch, or the chief of the Exiles, was considered to be the highest. According to Albiruni, "the head of the exiles, who had been banished from their homes in Jerusalem, is the master of every Jew in the world; the ruler whom they obey in all countries, whose order is carried out under most circumstances."[3] . . . . He "must of necessity be one of the descendents of David; an offspring of another family would not be fit for this office."[4] In another part of our book, the chief (Resh Galutha) is called Yahoudgân Shâh, *i.e.*, the King of the Jews, because in the court of some of the Sassanian kings of Persia, he enjoyed royal honours. Some of these chiefs were the favourites of Persian kings and had founded separate colonies of their co-religionists in Persia. When our text speaks of the foundation of Khârzem by the Chief of the Jews, we must understand by it, the foundation of a Jewish colony there, because, we know from the Avesta,[5] that the town existed long before the Sassanian times.

---

[1] The correct form is [illegible], *vide* section 47 of the text. *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i-zarirân, Shatroîha-i- Airân and Afdya va Sahigiha-i-Sistan, p. 101.

[2] History of the Jews, by Graetz, Vol. II., p. 554.

[3] The Chronology of Ancient Nations, by Albiruni. Translated by Dr. Sachau, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 68.

[5] Yast IX. (Meher) 14.

Three other Jewish colonies are referred to in this treatise, as founded by the Jews, or more particularly by Shishin-dôkht, the daughter of one Resh Galutha, the king of the Jews, and the wife of Yezdagard of Shâpuhar, *i.e.*, Yezdagard I., the son of Shâpur III.

According to Firdousi, Yezdagard I. was the son of Shâpur III. Tabari says, that he was the son of Beharâm IV., but adds that some consider him to be the son of Shâpur and the brother of Beharâm.[1] Maçoudi calls him to be the son of Shâpur,[2] but on the authority of another writer, says later on, that he was the son of Beharâm.[3] Mirkhond says, that, according to some, he was the son of Beharâm, and according to others, the brother of Beharâm.[4] Malcolm says, on the authority of several historians, that, according to some, Yezdagard was the brother of Beharâm, and according to others, the son. Rawlinson calls him the son of Beharâm. He takes some Greek writers to be his authorities.[5] Our Pahlavi treatise settles this question, by saying, that Yezdagard was the son of Shâpur.

Now, this Yezdagard is called *dafr* (Arabic دفر stinking). Most of the oriental historians call him a wicked king. Firdousi calls him Yezdagard-i-Bazêhgar (یزدگرد بزهگر), *i.e.*, the wicked Yezdagard. As an instance of his wickedness, Firdousi gives the case of his son Beharâm Gour's imprisonment. He was sent to prison for nodding in the court, while standing in his presence. At the very time of his accession to the throne, he had given to his courtiers, a cause to be displeased with him. Maçoudi calls him Al Athim (الاثيم), *i.e.*, the sinner. In some Oriental works, he is spoken of as Pêjehkiar,[6] which word is evidently the corruption of Bazehgar (بزهگر) of Firdousi. Mirkhond calls him Faru Bandehgar[7] (فروبندهگر), wherein the word (بندهگر) is evidently the corruption of بزهگر According to Tabari, some called him (الاثيم) and others Al Khashan (الخشن), *i.e.*, the wicked (Arabic خشن hard, rude). According to all these Oriental writers, Yezdagard was called wicked for his personal wicked characteristics. But we learn from Greek and Roman writers, that there was another reason, why he was hated by his own countrymen. According to Procopius, Agathias and Theophanes, Arcadius, the Roman Emperor, had, by his testament, appointed Yezdagard the guardian of his young son, Theodosius the Younger.[1] According to Cedranus, Yezdagard was given a legacy of 1,000 pounds of gold in return for this duty entrusted to him. This circumstance, they say, made him inclined a little towards the Christians. Again, Antiochus, his great favourite, whom he had sent to the court of Rome, to help and advise young Theodosius, had, by his frequent letters in favour of Christianity, turned the mind of the Persian king to the religion of Christ, so much so, that according to some Roman writers, he began persecuting the Zoroastrians of Persia for the sake of his Christian subjects. The influence of Antiochus had greatly led to the increase of the Christian population in Persia. According to Theophanes, Yezdagard himself had shown a little inclination to turn a Christian. Bishop Marutha of Mesopotamia, and Bishop Abdaäs of Ctesiphon, had great influence over him. Prof. Darmesteter, while referring to these passages in our treatise, in his interesting article on this subject, says, on the authority of previous writers, that it was this monarch, who had allowed the first Christian synod to be held in Persia, in the town of Seleusia, under the leadership of the Bishop of Byzantium.[2] Again, he had permitted the erection of a church at Ctesiphon. He employed Christian bishops on diplomatic service. It is said, that Bishop Marutha gained over the good-will of the Persian monarch, by once curing by his prayers, the headache from which the king was suffering, and which the Persian Mobads and physicians could not cure. Again, they say, this very Bishop Marutha and Bishop Abdaäs, once, by their prayers and fasts, chased a demon, which had possessed the body of the son of the king.[3] All these statements, however exaggerated, show, that Yezdagard was, at first, a little inclined towards Christianity. Latterly, he had turned round a little. According to Theophanes and Theodaret, Bishop Abdaäs, once, depending too much upon his influence with the king, set fire to the great Fire-temple of Ctesiphon. Yezdagard asked him to rebuild it at once. Abdaäs refused to do so. This exasperated the Persian king, and he ordered a general persecution of the Christians. Thus, it was the favour, that he had shown to a foreign religion, and his inconsistent and wicked conduct, that had made him unpopular with his people, and gained for him the epithet of *dafr*, referred to in our treatise, and the epithets of Al Athim, Al Khashan, Bazehgar, etc., referred to in other Oriental works. He met with an accidental death, being kicked by a ferocious horse, who appeared to be altogether quiet when he went before him to ride. Most of the oriental writers speak of this kind of death, as a punishment from God for his wicked conduct.

---

[1] Tabari, par Zotenberg, Vol. II., p. 103.

[2] Maçoudi, B. De Meynard, Vol. II., p. 190.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. II., p. 238.

[4] بعضي يزدجرد را پسر بهرام و برخى برادر وى گفته اند (Mirkhond, Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, p. 221. Mémoires sur la Perse par S. de Sacy, p. 321.)

[5] Eutychius (Vol. I., p. 548). Abu Obeîdah (quoted by Macoudi, Vol. II., p. 238). Sépêos (p. 20.) (The Seventh Oriental Monarchy (1876), p. 269 n. 3.)

[6] S. de Sacy. Mémoires sur la Perse, p. 321.

[7] Bombay Edition, p. 227.

---

[1] Rawlinson's Seventh Oriental Monarchy, p. 272.

[2] Textes Pehlvis Relatifs au Judaisme. Revue des Études Juives, X., Vol. XVIII., p. 44.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 45.

Now, our Pahlavi treatise goes one step further, and points out, that Yezdagard was not only favourably inclined towards the Christians, but also towards the Jews. We learn from other sources, that on great occasions he specially invited to his court the religious chiefs of the Jews. Huna, the son of Nathan, who was a Jewish prince, was a special favourite of Yezdagard. We read the following on this point in the history of the Jews:—"He (Yezdagard) was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews, and at the same time favourably disposed towards the Christians. On the days of homage there were present at his court the three representatives of the Babylonian Jews: Ashi, of Sora; Mar-Zutra, of Pumbeditha; and Amemar of Nahardea. Huna bar Nathan, who, if he was no Prince of the Captivity, must nevertheless have been possessed of considerable influence, held frequent intercourse with Jezdijird's court. Such a mark of attention on the part of a Persian king . . . . . may be regarded as a proof of high favour." (History of the Jews by Graetz, Vol. II., page 617.)

Now, there was one special reason, why Yezdagard was exceedingly well affected towards the Jews. We learn for the first time from our Pahalavi treatise, that Yezdagard was married to a Jewish princess. No other works, oriental or occidental, refer to this point. Shishin Dôkht is the name of this Jewish princess. She was the daughter of the Resh Galutha, *i.e.*, the Jewish Exilarch, who is spoken of here, as Yahoudgân Shâh, *i.e.*, the King of the Jews. She seems to have played, if not the same, as Darmesteter says, at least a similar part, as that played by queen Esther of the Old

Testament. It appears, that not only Jewish princesses, but other Jewish ladies had begun influencing the Persians in one way or another. It is for this reason, that we find, that the Dinkard deprecates marriages with Jewish women.[1] As to the question, who this particular Rish Galutak, whose daughter, Shishin Dôkht, Yezdagard had married, was, the above passage of the history of the Jews seems to show, that it was Huna, the son of Nathan, who had considerable influence with Yezdagard.

According to our treatise, it was this Jewish queen of Yezdagard, who had founded in Persia, Shus and Shuster, the well-known towns of Khuzistân. Not only that, but it was at her special desire, that a Jewish colony was founded in Gaê (Ispahân). We will first speak of the towns of Shus and Shuster, said to have been founded by her.

According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the ancient times, there were two cities of the name of Susan or Susa; the more ancient, the Shusan of the Scriptures, being situated on the Kârun or Eulæus, and the other, the Susa of the Greeks, being situated near the Cherkheh or Choaspes. The Shus of our treatise seems to be the first of these two. Tradition and some oriental authors[2] attribute to this town of Shus (Susa), the tomb of the Hebrew prophet Daniel. So, it is likely, that the Jewish queen of the Persian king took advantage of her influence over her royal husband and rebuilt or enlarged or improved the town, with which the name of a prophet of her religion was connected. According to Tabari,[3] it is a very ancient town and said to have been originally founded by Shâpur II.

Shuster, the other city, whose foundation or rather enlargement also is attributed to the queen Shishin-dôkht, is situated on the river Kârun at the distance of about 32 miles from Susa. Tabari[4] and other authors[5] attribute its original foundation to Shâpur I., who, they say, had ordered Emperor Valerian, whom he had defeated and taken prisoner, to send Roman engineers to build this and other cities. Firdousi[6] also refers to this fact, and says, especially of the waterworks of this town, that they were built by Beranous, a Roman engineer, at the orders of Shâpur I.

---

[1] Dastur Peshotan's Dinkard, Vol. II., p. 90.

[2] Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 76.

[3] Zotenberg II., p. 95.

[4] *Ibid.* II., p. 79.

[5] Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 542.

[6] Mohl. V., p. 392.

The similarity of the names (Shus and Shuster) of these towns' with that of their founder Shishin-dôkht is striking. The original name of this queen may be Shushan, which is a common Hebrew name of Jewish women, and Shishin may be a corrupted form. The Hebrew name Shusan seems to be the same as Arabic سوسن *susan* meaning a "lily." The word *dôkht* is the contracted form of *dôkhtar* دختر *i.e.*, daughter. It is used in the sense of "maiden, girl or princess," and is added to the names of several Persian queens, *e.g.*, Purân-dôkht and Azermidôkht.

As to the town of Gaê, wherein Shishin-dôkht had founded a colony of the Jews, the name Gaê is another form of Jaê or Djey, which was the ancient name of Ispahân.[1] A part of Ispahân, now in ruins, is still known by the name of Djey. It was also known as Yahoudeh, *i.e.*, the quarters of the Yahoudis or Jews. "Ispahân était anciennement la ville connu sous le nom de Djey. Elle se nommait, premitivement Djey, puis Yahoudieh."[2] Our text attributes its original foundation to Alexander.[3]

---

[1] Dictionnaire de la Geographie, etc., par. B. de Meynard, p. 45.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 41.

[3] The late Prof. Darmesteter had a copy of the old text (MK) supplied to him, wherein, a part being eaten away by worms, two letters are wanting. The words in the old text, as given by Darmesteter in his "Textes Pehlvis Relatifs, au Judaisme (Revue des Études Juives, XVIII. p. 41) is "Shatrostân-i-Gai gujastak Alaksandaro pilp . . . kart." Darmesteter, in his translation, takes the missing letters to be âê, reads the word pilpâê and translates the sentence thus "La ville de Gai fut foulée aux pieds des éléphants, par le maudit Alexandre.," But, it appears from the Teheran manuscript J., copied from the original, when it was in a good condition, that the word was *philphous* ([illegible]). Now Firdousi gives *philkous* فیل قوس as the name of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great (Mohl. V., p. 57). In Persian the word *philkous* فیل قوص can easily be read *philphous* فیل فوس by dropping a dot (nukté) from ق *k*. So, it appears intelligible, how the copyist put in *philphous* [illegible] for *philkous* ([illegible]). Anyhow Prof. Darmesteter's reading *pilpâê* cannot hold good, because, here, there is no question of the destruction of the city of Ispahân (fut foulée), but on the contrary that of its construction. That

Some Persian writers carry the foundation of Ispahân to a period earlier than that of Alexander. According to our text, the Jewish queen of Yezdagard had founded a Jewish colony at Ispahân, but according to other authors, the Jews lived there, long before this time. It is possible, that this Jewish queen rebuilt their quarters or their part of the town. According to Yakout,[1] it was Bakht-en-Nasr (Nebuchadnezzer) who, after taking Jerusalem, brought the Jews as prisoners to Ispahân, where they built quarters of their own and called them Yahoudieh.[2] Their population there, latterly increased to such an extent, that, according to Mansour ben Badân, there was hardly a family in Ispahân, which could not trace its descent from a Jewish ancestor. Ebn Haukal[3] names a place called Jehudistân, just near Ispahân. That may possibly be the same as Yahoudieh, because it also means " the place of the Jews."

Meruv-rud.—It is said to be founded by Beharâm of Yezdagard. It is the Maruv-al-rud (مروال رود) of Ebn Haukal.[4] It is the Marv-rud (مرورود) of the Shâhnâmeh.[5] The Beharâm, referred to here, is Beharâm V., known as Beharâm Gour. From other oriental works, we know nothing of Meruvrud being founded by Beharâm Gour. But what we know from Mirkhond and Firdousi is only this, that Beharâm Gour had won a great victory over the Khâkân of Chin at a place known as Merv[6] (مرو). But this Merv seems to be quite a different place from Merv-al-rud. It is possible that Mirkhond and Firdousi have mixed up these two places. After the victory at the above place, Beharâm Gour is said to have built a large column (ميل) to mark out the frontiers of Irân and Turân.

Meruv and Harâe.—Both of them are said to be founded by Alexander the Great. Meruv is the well known city of Merv, known

---

Alexander had destroyed the city of Ispahân, does not appear from any author, but the fact, that he had founded it, appears from Athar el-Bilad (Dans le livre Athar el-Bilad, c'est Alexandre seul qui est nommé comme fondateur d'Ispahân. Diot. de la Geogr., &c. B. de Meynard, p. 41). Tabari also supports this statement (I., p. 517).

[1] Diot. B. de Maynard, p. 45. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 169.

[4] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 213, 214, 220, 222, 231.

[5] Mohl. II., p. 253 ; IV., p. 189.

[6] Mirkhond, traduit, par Silvestre de Sacy. pp. 334-336; Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, p. 229, l. 13 ; Mohl. V., pp. 676-78.

also as the Merv Shâhjân. Ebn Haukal[1] also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. Yakout and other oriental writers also say the same thing.[2] It is called Merv Shâbjân (*i.e.*, Merv the city of the king), because it was one of the four royal cities of Khorâsân.[3] According to Yakout, it was called Shâhjân (L'ame du roi) because it was one of the largest and greatest cities of Khorâsân.[4] Antiochus Nicatore had rebuilt the city and called it Antiochia. Tabari also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great.[5]

The city of Harâe is the Harôyu 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬋𐬌𐬎 of the Vendidâd, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions and Aria of the Greeks. It is the modern Herat. Yakout also attributes its foundation to Alexander the Great. "La ville d'Herat, dit ed-Dehbi, à été fondée par Alexandre, lorsque ce conquérant, ayant envahi l'Orient, se préparait à attaquer la Chine.[6]" Some writers attribute its foundation to Lohrâsp and its rebuilding to Gushtâsp, Bahman and to Alexander,[7]

لهراسب نهاده است هریرا بنیاد
گشتاسب زنو بنای دیگر بنهاد

Silvestre de Sacy[8] says, on the authority of an oriental geographer, that Herat was first founded by an Emir of that name, and rebuilt by Alexander.

Pushen.—This name is variously written by eastern writers, as فوشنج or بوشنج or پوشنگ. It is at the distance of 10 farsakhs from Herat. Some attribute its foundation and its name to Pasheng, the son of Afrasiâb[9], who was otherwise known as Shideh[10] (شیده).

---

[1] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

[2] Dictionnaire de la Porse, B. de Meynard, p. 527, n. 2.

[3] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 179.

[4] Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 526.

[5] Tabari par Zötenberg, Vol. I, p. 617.

[6] Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 593. [7] *Ibid*, p. 592.

[8] Mémories sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy, p. 389.

[9] Dict., B. de Meynard, p. 122, n. 1. [10] Livre des Rois. Mohl. IV., p. 30, l. 713.

According to Kinneir,[1] "Pushing is a considerable town, a little to the north of Herat, built on the banks of the Herirood." The foundation of this city is attributed to Shapur of Artashir, *i. e.*, Shapur I. In our treatise, the foundation of seven cities is attributed to Shapur I. According to Firdousi, Shapur had founded several cities with the help of an engineer or a geometrician (هندسي) named Berânous (*vide* above p. 11) sent to him by Emperor Valerian of Rome. The seven cities, referred to in our book, as founded by Shapur, are the following: (1) Pushen. (2) Neo Shâpuhar. (3) Hairat. (4) Vish Shâpuhar. (5) Vandu-i-Shâpuhar. (6) Airankard-i-Shâpuhar. (7) Kharayast.

Tus.—Tus of Naôdar is said to have founded it. It is the Tous of Ebn Haukal, according to whom, it is situated to the north of Nishâpour.[3] According to Maçoudi, king Feridun had built a great fire-temple here. The building of the city of Mesched in its neighbourhood eclipsed the city of Tus. The following story is related about its foundation:—Once upon a time, Kaikhosru sent Tus, the son of Naôdar, to the frontiers of Turân to fight against Afrâsiâb. He specially directed Tus to avoid the route of Kelât, lest Farud, the step-brother of Kaikhosru, who was living there, might create a quarrel and fight with him. Tus, on his way to the frontiers of Turân, passed by way of Kelat, in spite of Kaikhosru's directions to the contrary. Farud thereupon sought a quarrel, fought with Tus, and was killed in the battle. On hearing of the death of his step-brother, Kaikhosru got enraged against Tus, who got afraid to return to the court of the Persian King. He, therefore, stayed in Khorâsân, and founding a new city, named it Tus, after his name.[3] The Dabistan[4] also attributes its foundation to Tus. Tus is mentioned in our books as the seat of the *sepâh-pat*, *i. e.*, the commander-in-chief. According to Tabari, the sovereigns of Tabaristan and of Khorâsân were called Ispehbads, or Sepahbads, *i. e.*, the commanders of armies.

Neo Shâpuhar.—The second city founded by Shapur I, is Nishâpur (نيشاپور), the well-known city of Khorâsân. According to Ebn Haukal, one of the places outside its suburbs, is known as Kohendez, and one of its gates is known as Der-i-Kohendez[5] (درِ قهندز).

---

[1] Persian Empire, p. 183.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 215.

[3] Mecan's Shahnameh. Persian Preface, 32. Tabari, Vol. I., p. 467.

[4] The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, p. 52.

[5] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 214.

The Kohendez, referred to by Firdousi,[1] as founded in Nishâpur by Shapur I., is the above Kohendez referred to by Ebn Haukal.

کهندز بشهر نیشاپور کرد
برآورد و پردخت از روز ارد

Mohl. V., p. 392.

Maçoudi attributes its foundation to Shapur II[2]. On the authority of an oriental historian and geographer, Kinneir says: "This city was founded by Taimuras, and destroyed by Alexander the Great. It was, after the lapse of many years, rebuilt by Sapor I."[3] Hamd Allah Mustôfi also attributes its original foundation to Taimuras, and its rebuilding to Shapur I. "Le premier fondateur de cette ville est, dit-on, Thahomers. Quand elle fut ruinée, Ardeschir Babegân bâtit une autre ville qu'il nomma Nih (نه). Son fils Schâpour, qui gouvernait le Khoracân, le pria de lui donner cette ville; piqúe du refus de son père, il éleva sur les ruines de l'antique cité de Thahomers une ville nouvelle qui fut nommée Nih Schâpour ou la ville de Shâpour, dont les Arabes formèrent plus tard le mot Niçabour."[4] This passage gives a derivation of the name Nishapur. It says, that it was so called, because it was a city (Neh نی city) founded by Shapur.

According to our Pahlavi treatise, Shapur I. founded the city of Nishapur, at a place, where he had killed an enemy, named Pâhlizak Tur, a name, which can be variously read. Now, the question is, who was this enemy. From Tabari, we learn, that Shapur I. had killed a hostile monarch in Khorâsân, who had invaded the country of Persia during Shapur's absence at the siege of Nisib. "Schâpour. . . . . fut informé qu'un ennemi, venant du Khorâsân, avait envahi la Perside. Schâpour retourna dans la Perside, attaqua l'ennemi, le fit prisonnier et le tua; puis il revint à Nisibe."[5] Unfortunately, Tabari does not give the name of this enemy, whom Shapur had killed. So we are not in a position to ascertain, if he was the same person, referred to in our text. Maçoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond speak of one other king, as being killed by Shapur I. This king is variously known as Zizan, Dhaizan (Sâtiroun), or Manizen. But he was not a king of Khorâsân.

---

[1] Mohl. Vol., p. 392. [2] Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. II., p. 188.

[3] Persian Empire, p. 185. [4] Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 578 n.

[5] Tabari par Zötenburg, Vol. II., p. 79. Valerian and Odenathus were also defeated by Shâpur, but they were, in no way, connected with Khorâsân. Pâhlizak can, with some transmutation of letters, be read Valerian.

Kâin.—It is said to have been founded by king Lohrâsp. It is the Kâin قاین of Ebn Haukal,[1] according to whom, it is about six days' journey from Herat. According to Yakout, it is about eight days' journey from Herat, and nine days' from Nishapur. It is, as it were, the gate of Khorâsân.

Dahistân in the territory of Gurgân.—It is the Dehestân دهستان of Ebn Haukal.[2] Its foundation is attributed to Narsi of the Ashkânian dynasty, who, according to Maçoudi, was the fifth reigning monarch of the dynasty.

Koumis.—It is the Koumis قومس of Ebn Haukal, situated in Tabaristan, within the territories of Mount Damavand.[3] It is said to have been inhabited by the Parsis in the reign of Shapur of Yezdagard.[4] The word پارسیان Pârsiân can be taken for the Parthians, because Damghân in the district of Koumis was the seat of the Parthians. "Damghan . . . is always supposed to mark the sight of the ancient Hekatompylos (or city of a hundred gates), the name given by the Greeks to the capital of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthian kings" (Persia, by Curzon, Vol. I., p. 287).

Khusrui.—We now come to a group of five cities, known by the name of Khusrui, and said to be founded by different kings of the name of Khusrui. It is very difficult to identify the cities, and the kings bearing the name of Khusrui referred to in our book. There were several cities in Khorâsân, bearing the name of Khusrui. Of these, one is Khusruv Jird or Khusruv Gird (خسرو جرد or خسرو گرد). It is situated between Koumis and Nishapur. According to some oriental writers, it was founded by Kaikhosru. "Les historiens orientaux parlent de la citadelle de Khosrewdjird comme d'une place très-fortifiée dont l'origine remonterait à Keïkhosrou."[5] "Le chateau de Khosraudjird خسرو جرد — C' etait une place très forte, dont on attribuait la construction à Keïkhosrou, le vainqueur d'Afraciab."[1] The city of Djeser Wadjerd (جسروا جرد) mentioned by Edrisi as situated on the way from Rei to Nishapur, is this same city of Khosraudjird[2] (خسرو جرد). This city, then, is the second city in our group, said to have been founded by Kaikhusrui. Again, at the distance of 12 miles from the above city of Khosraudjird, there is a city known as Jasrauâbâd (جسرو آباد), which, I think, to be Khosrauâbâd (خسرو آباد), the points (Nukṭeh) of ج and خ having exchanged places. It is the Khosrâbâd (خُسر آباد) of Yakout, according to whom, it is two "farsakhs" distant from Merv.[3] This city then appears to be the third city in our list, founded by Schâd Khosru Mustâvâd (âbâd).

---

[1] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 222, 233, 228.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 176.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 178, 212.

[4] Vide my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, &c., p. 68. Pahlavi text. p. 20, s 18.

[5] Yakout Dict. par B., de Meynard, p. 208, note.

Again, Yakout speaks of another city Khosrew Schah (خسرو شاه) as being two "farsakhs" distant from Merv.[4] Thus, we find, that there were three cities of the name of Khusrui near each other in Khorâsân. The next two cities also seem to be near these three cities. We know from the history of Persia, that there were five kings of the name of Khosrui.—

(1) Kai Khosru. (2) Khosru of the Parthian dynasty who reigned after Pecorus from A. D. 108 to 130. (3) Khosru who reigned for a short time after Yezdagard of Shapur and before the accession to the throne of Beharâm Gour. (4) Khosru Kobâd (Noshirvân), and (5) Khosru Parviz.

Of these five, two can be identified with those in our list, *viz.*, Khosru Kobâd and Kai Khosru. So the remaining three Khosrus of history seem to be the other three Khusrus referred to in our text.

IV.

We now come to the second group of cities, *viz.*, the cities of Khâvar, or of the West.

Ctesiphon.—Ctesiphon, the first city mentioned in the second group, is said to have been founded by one Tus, who was the Râvak (the governor) of Sifkân. That Ctesiphon was founded by one Tus, appears to be supported by the fact, that, according to Yakout, its ancient name was Tousphon (طوسفون) and not Ctesiphon (طيسفون). "Hamzah dit que son nom primitif était Thôusfoun (طوسفون), que les Arabes ont changé en Thaïsfoun."[5]

---

[1] Journal Asiatique, 1846, Tome VIII., p. 460.

[2] Edrisi, Vol. II., p. 177.

[3] Dict., par B. de Meynard, p. 208.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 209.

[5] Yakout Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 400.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Vardanis, a Parthian prince, the son of Ardvân III., who reigned from A. D. 42 to 46, was the founder of this city. It appears then, that Tus was possibly a general of Vardanis, of whom we know, that he had suppressed a rebellion in Seleucia, which was situated on one side of the Tigris, while Ctesiphon was situated on the other. It is possible, that when Vardanis conquered Seleucia, he got Ctesiphon rebuilt by Tus.

According to our Pahalvi treatise, Tus, the founder of Ctesiphon, belonged to a place called Sifkân. So I think Ctesiphon [illegible] is the shortened form of Tous-i-Sifkan [illegible]

According to Kinneir, "The foundation of the city of Ctesiphon . . . . can hardly be ascribed to any particular person, as it would seem to have increased gradually, during a succession of many years, from a camp to a city. Pacoras, supposed to be Orodes, king of the Parthians, and contemporary with Anthony, is thought to be the first who surrounded it with walls, and made it the capital of the Parthian Empire." (Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 253-54.)

Kinneir is quite right in saying, that we cannot ascribe its foundation to any particular prince. According to Yakout, it was at first founded by Alexander the Great. It was subsequently destroyed. Noshirvân (Chosroes) had rebuilt it. Ardeshir Bâbegân had again rebuilt it.[1]

Sârsar.—Sarsar is another city attributed to the abovementioned ruler of Sifkân. It is the Sarsar صرصر of Ebn Haukal. It is situated at a distance of three farsangs from Bagdad.[2]

Hirleh.—It is the modern Hilleh, situated on the Euphrates. It is 54 miles from Bagdad. "It covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient capital of Assyria (Babylon). . . . . We learn from St. Jerome that the space within the walls was converted by the Parthian kings into a royal hunting park."[3]

Bâwir.—It is the Bawri ([illegible] Yt. V. 29) of the Avesta, and Babyrush of the Behistun Inscriptions. It is the modern Babylon.

---

[1] Dict. Géograpie de B. de Meynard, p. 518, *vide* the word مداين Medaïn.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 68.

[3] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 269-272.

Our treatise (text. s. 24.) says of this city, that it "was founded in the reign of Jamshed. He (the founder of the city) fixed there (the direction of) the planet Mercury. (By the situation of the city or its building) he pointed out magically the 7 planets, the 12 constellations and signs of the zodiac and the eighth part (of the heavens) towards the sun and other planets."

This seems to be an allusion to the building of the temple of Babylon, which was said to be built on some principles of astronomical calculations. Zohâk is generally represented as the founder of Babylon. Zohâk's connection with Babylon, and his character as a magician, are also referred to in the Dinkard. "One marvel is several matters of evil deceit which Dahâk had done in Bâpêl through witchcraft."[1]

Hirat.—It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Aboulfeda.[2] It is the Heirah (حيرة) of Ebn Haukal, who says that "Heirah is an ancient city, and large; but when Cufa was built, Heirah was drained of its inhabitants. Heirah enjoys a pure air, and is one farsang distant from Cufa."[3] Edrisi[4] and Maçoudi[5] also support Ebn Haukal. According to Kinneir, "the holy city of Nejiff, or Meshed Ali (the supposed burying-place of the Caliph Ali), is nine *fursungs* from Hilleh and four miles from Kufa, and situate on a hill, at the bottom of which is an artificial lake. This city was founded by Alexander the Great, and for a long time bore the name of Alexandria, which was afterwards changed into that of Hira, when it became the residence of a dynasty of Arabian princes, who fought under the Parthian banners against the Emperors of Rome. It is also known in history, under the general appellation of Almondari, after the name of Almondar (the Almondarus of Procopius), distinguished in the wars of Nushirwan and Justinian."[6]

Our book attributes its foundation to Shapur I. According to Tabari,[7] Rabia, the son of Naçr., the king of Yemen, had once a dream in which he saw a piece of carbon falling from a cloud, taking fire and burning all the people of Yemen. His astrologers gave the following interpretation of the dream: "There will come from Abyssinia, a king, who will conquer the country of Yemen, take all its inhabitants prisoners, and abolish the Jewish religion. Yemen will be annexed to the country of Abyssinia."[1] The king thereupon, under apprehensions, sent away his family out of Yemen to the country of Iraq, with a letter upon the Persian king Shapur, to take care of his children. Shapur thereupon gave them shelter in the above town of Heirah (Hira). Now, as to who this Shapur was, there is a difference of names in the different manuscripts of Tabari's text. But Zotenberg says, that in one of his manuscripts, the name is that of Shapur, the son of Ardeshir, *i. e.*, Shapur I.[2] It appears, therefore, that Shapur I. must have rebuilt this town, at the time, when the king of Yemen sent his family to Irâq. If the allusion in our text does not refer to this event in the history of the Arabs, there is another event also, to which it may allude. According to Percival's History of the Arabs (II. pp. 11-12), the Iranian king, Shapur-el-Acbar, had attacked the Arabs in the city of Heirah. Some of the Arabs thereupon went away to Mesopotamia and others remained in Heirah. It was perhaps at this time, then, that Shapur I. rebuilt the town of Heirah and appointed one Mitrozâd to rule over the Arab colony.

---

[1] S. B. E., Vol. XLVII., p. 66. West's Dinkard, Bk. VII, Ch. IV. 72.

[2] Géographie d'Aboulfeda. Text Arabe par Reinaud et Slane, p. 298.

[3] Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 65-66.

[4] Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 366.

[5] Maçoudi, par Barbier de. Meynard, III., p. 213.

[6] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 282. [7] Zotenberg II., pp. 169-71.

The Mitrozâd, referred to in our text, seems to be Mitrok-i-Anushê Pâtân ([illegible]) of Kâr Nameh-i-Ardeshir Bâbegân (Dastur Kekobod's text, s. 163-181, pp. 34-37). It is the Meherak Nushzâd (مهرک نوش زاد) of the Shah Nameh.[3] He was the father-in-law of Shapur I. According to Percival, the Persian governors of Heirah were, up to a later time, known as Marzebân[4] (perhaps مرزبان).

The town of Heira (حیره) is called Hirat [illegible] in our book. The reason is this. Noman, a king of Heirah, had enlarged this town. So it was called Hirat Annomân, after his name. This name was subsequently abbreviated into Hirat.[5]

Hamdân.—Our book attributes its foundation to Yezdagard I. According to Maçoudi, it was built by Alexander the Great.[6] It is the Ecbetana of the ancients. Herodotus (I. 98) attributes its foundation to Deioces, the first king of the Medes. According to some oriental writers, it was founded by Hamadân, son of Felewdj, son of Sem, son of Noah.[1] According to Mustofi, it was built by Jamshid. Bahman Asfandiar had re-fortified it, and Dara of Darab had rebuilt it. No other writer supports our author, in his statement, that it was founded by Yezdagard I. We learn from our work, that Yezdagard had married a Jewish princess. So, possibly Yezdagard had repaired and rebuilt this city at the request of his Jewish queen; because, there were in that city, the tombs of a former Jewish queen and prince, *viz.*, Esther and Mordecai.[2]

---

[1] Translated from the French of Tabari par Zötenberg, Vol II., p. 171.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 537.

[3] Mohl. V., p. 348.

[4] Perceval's Histoire des Arabes, Vol. II., p. 187.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 55.

[6] Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, IX., p. 21.

Mâh.—Beharâm of Yezdagard is said to have founded a city in the district of Vâhrâm-âvand in the province of Mâh, in the direction of Nehâvand. The country of Mâh (ماه), referred to here, is that of Mah-el-Basrah and Mah-el-Kaufah. According to Tabari, these two towns were known under the joint name of Mahffin[3]. According to the same author, the city of Nehâvand (نهاوند) was also known as Mah-el-Basrah. According to some writers, Nehâvand was originally Nuh-âvand, *i.e.*, the city founded by Noah. Now it is difficult to identify the city of Vâhrâm-âvand referred to here. Perhaps it is the city of Râman (رامن) in the neighbourhood of Nehâvand, situated about 21 miles from Hamdan; or perhaps it is the city of Râvendah, (راونده) situated in the same district.[4]

Mousul.—It is the Mousul (موصل) of Ebn Haukal, which, he and Edrisi place in the country of Mesopotamia[5] (دیار جزیره). According to Kinneir, neither the time of its foundation nor the name of its founder are known.[6] But our book attributes its foundation to one Piroz-i-Shâpuharân. Now, we know of no king known as Piroz of Shâpur. We know of a hero of that name, whom, Rustam the general of Yezdagard Sheheriâr sent as a messenger to Saad Wakhas, the chief of the Arabs. But he is not represented to have founded any city. We know of a city named Piroz-i-Shapour said to have been founded by Shapur Zul-aktâf.

---

[1] Dict. par B. de Meynard, p. 597.

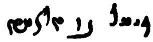
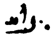
[2] From the Indus to the Tigris, by Dr. Bellew, p. 429.

[3] Tabari, III., p. 480.

[4] Edrisi par Jaubert, II., p. 165.

[5] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 55. Edrisi par Jaubert, II., p. 142-48.

[6] Persian Empire, p. 257, Note.

Jazeereh.—The foundation of nine cities (whose names are not mentioned) in the country of Jazeereh (Mesopotamia) is attributed to Amatvash and Kaisar Barâtarzâd. It is difficult to identify these two persons. Kaisar Barâtarzâd is perhaps the Armenian king Chosroes, son of Tiridates, who lived in the reign of Shapur II.[1] His original name must be Kaisar bin Tarazâd (Tiridates)  (*i.e.*, Chosroes, the son of Tiridates). Subsequently the bin seems to have been changed into bara . This Armenian prince claimed his descent from the Parthian kings.

Shâm (Syria), Yemen, Farikâ (Africa), Koufah, Mecah, Medinah (Medina).—Twenty-four cities are said to have been founded in the land of these cities. Some of them were ruled over, or founded by, the Kaisar, *i.e.*, the Emperor of Rome, and some by the Malikân Malik, *i.e.*, the king of Persia.

According to Tabari, the Arab kings of Syria and Yemen were, from time to time, under the suzerainty of the kings of Persia. The Arab rulers of Hirat, referred to above, also ruled over the country of Yemen. The Persian king Feridun had married his sons to the three daughters of the King of Yemen.

V.

Now we come to the towns of the third group, *viz.*, that of Nimrouz or Seistân.

Kavûl.—Kavûl is the modern Cabul, the foundation of which is attributed to Artashir of Spendadâd, who is the same as the Bahaman of Asfandiâr of the Shâhnâmeh. No other works support this statement. What we learn from Tabari, is that Bahaman had gone to Seistân to avenge, over Framroz, the son of Rustam, the death of his father Asfandiâr, who was killed by Rustam, the ruler of Zaboulistân and Kaboulistân.[2] According to Maçoudi, he had also founded in Seistân a large fire-temple known as Kerakeran which, I think, is the same as the 'Fire Karkoê' of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta. As this sacred fire existed even in the reign of Minocheher according to a subsequent passage (s. 38), and as Kabul is often referred to by Firdousi as the seat of Rustam, the reference here seems to be to a rebuilding of Cabul.

---

[1] Gibbon I, p. 399.

[2] Tabari I., p. 507.

Râvad.—This seems to be the Raêbad ریبد of Firdousi. It is said to have been founded by Rehâm, the son of Goudarz, at the place where he killed Aspvarz, the hero of Turkistân. This seems to be an allusion to the battle between the Irânians and Turânians, known as the "Battle of Eleven Warriors," wherein Rehâm, the Irânian, killed Bârmân, the Turânian.[1] The Pahalvi name Aspvarz ('warrior,' from 'asp' horse) seems to be an equivalent of Bârmân (باره a horse) of the Shâhnâmeh. This town of Râvad is perhaps the Rebât of Ibn Haukal[2], known as Rebât Firouzmend (رباط فیروزمند). It is one *menzal* (stage) from Bost, the next town in our group. Perhaps the adjective Firouzmend (victorious) refers to the above victory of Rehâm over Bârmân, and to that of his other ten Irânian colleagues over their Turânian rivals.

Bost.—According to Ebn Haukal and other writers, it is one of the principal cities in the province of Seistân.[3] It is the Abeste of Pliny.[4] It was founded by Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta[5] and the Nastur of the Shâhnâmeh.[6] It is said to have been founded at the time, when King Gushtâsp had gone to Seistân, to be a guest of Rustam, and to propagate the Zoroastrian religion there, a short time before his second war with Arjâsp.[7]

Fariâv and Zâvulastân.—These two cities are said to have been founded by Rustam. Fariâv is either the Fâryâb (فاریاب) of Firdousi,[8] Tabari[9] and Yâkout,[10] or Fereh فره of Ebn Haukal.[11] Fariâb is not in Seistân Proper, but Fereh is a town of Seistân Proper. It is the Parrah mentioned in ancient geography as the capital of the Parthian province of Anabon.[12]

As to Zavoul or Zaboul, in ancient geography, the whole region, which includes the modern towns of Cabul and Gizni and the adjoining country, was known by that name. Rustam, who is mentioned in our treatise as the founder of these two cities and as the king of Seistân, was the feudal lord of this region under the rulers of Persia.

---

[1] Firdousi Mohl., III., p. 573. [2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 210.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 207. Firdousi Mohl, IV., p. 252. Maçoudi B. de Meynard V., p. 302. Edrisi Jaubert, I, pp. 417, 442.

[4] D'Anville's Ancient Geography, English Translation (1791) II, p. 498. Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190. [5] Yt. XIII, 103. [6] Mohl. IV., p. 418.

[7] Yasht V. 109; Mohl. IV., p. 442, ll. 994-95. [8] Mohl. III., p. 506, l. 137.

[9] Zotenberg III.; p. 571, IV., p. 167.

[10] B. de Meynard, Dictionnaire de Geographie de la Perse, p. 414.

[11] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 208.

[12] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 193; D'Anville's Ancient Geography, (English translation) II., p. 65.

Zaranj.—According to Tabari,[1] Ebn Haukal[2] and Edrisi,[3] it was the capital of Seistân. It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy and modern Dooshak.[4] The fire Karkoê is referred to in the text as being deposited in this city. It is the sacred fire Karkoê of the Âtash Nayâish of the Avesta and the Fire-Temple of Kerakerkan کرا کرکان referred to by Maçoudi[5] as being founded by Bahman of Isfandiar. The allusion to king Minocheher and Frâsiav in connection with this town is explained more fully by the Minokherad (S. B. E. XXIV., ch. XXVII., 44) and Zâd Sparam (S. B. E. XLVII., ch. XII., 3).

VI.

Now we come to the towns of the fourth group.

Kermân.—It is said to be founded by Kermânshâh. Now, who was this Kermânshâh? He was Varanes (Beharâm) IV., the son of Sapor III. He is spoken of in our text, as Piroujân, *i.e.*, victorious. The word Beharâm (Varahana, or Varanes) also means victorious. There were several kings of the name of Varanes or Beharâm in Persia, and oriental writers differ as to which of those several Beharâms was the king Kermânshâh. According to Firdousi[6], it was Beharâm or Varanes III. According to Mirkhond[7] it was Beharâm IV. Tabari[8] agrees with Mirkhond. Malcolm,[9] on the authority of other oriental writers, agrees with Tabari and Maçoudi and differs from Firdousi. An inscription on a seal of king Beharâm IV. settles this question and shows that Firdousi is wrong in calling Beharâm III., Keramânshâh. According to that seal, it was Beharâm, the son of Sapor, *i.e.*, Beharâm IV., who was known as Kermânshâh. He was so called, because, in his young age, he was entrusted with the governorship of Kermân by his father.

Now, as to the foundation of the city of Kermân by Beharâm IV., no other writer supports our text. According to Hamdulla bin

---

[1] Zotenberg III., p. 517.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 203-207.

[3] Jaubert, I., p. 442.

[4] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.

[5] B. de Meynard IV., p. 73.

[6] Mohl. V., p. 414, l. 2,

[7] Mémoires sur la Perse par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 320. Mirkhond, Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, Part I., p. 227, l. 6.

[8] Tabari, Zotenberg, II., p. 103.

[9] History of Persia, 2nd Ed., ch. V., p. 89.

Abou Bakar quoted by Silvestre de Sacy, it was the town of Kermanshah, which is quite different from that of Kerman, that was founded by Beharam IV. Perhaps, it is the similarity of names, that has led our author to mistake the town Kermân for that of Kermânshâh.

Veh-Artashir.—It is perhaps the New Ardeshir of Tabari, which, according to this author, was one of the six cities founded by Ardeshir Babegân. The Pahlavi, 'v' seems to have been read 'n.' It seems to be the same as Yazdshir, which, according to Edrisi,[1] is situated in the district of Kerman.

Stâkhar.—It is the Istakhar اصطخر of later writers. Ardavan (Artabanes) is said to be its founder. According to the Kârnameh[2] of Ardeshir Bâbegân, Ardavan had his capital in that city. According to Tabari[3], it was queen Homai who had built it. According to Maçoudi[4], this queen had also built there a large fire-temple. Mirkhond[5] attributes to this queen, the construction of the well known building known as Hazâr-Setun (1,000 pillars) among the ruins of Istakhar. According to Zinet-el-Medjalis,[6] some attributed its foundation to Keïomurs and others to one of his sons named Isthakhar. Hoshang added to it, and Jamshed finished its construction. Yakout[7] attributes its foundation to Isthakhr, son of Tahmuras. Edrisi refers to this town in his geography at some length.[8]

Darabgird.—It is said to be founded by Dârâ, the son of Dârâ. Other oriental writers[9] differ from our text, in saying, that it was the first Dârâ (the son of Bahaman Asfandyâr) himself who had founded it, and not his son Dârâ II.

Vish Shâpuhar.—It seems to be the city of Shâpur, situated on the road from Bushire to Shirâz next to Kazeroun. It is said to have been founded by Shâpuhar of Artashir, *i. e.*, by Sâpur I. According to Kazvini and other eastern writers[10] it was first built by Tahmuras, ruined by Alexander the Great, and re-built by Sâpur I., who named it Benâ-Shâpur (بنا شاپور *i. e.*, founded by Shapur). Some[1] called it Nischâvour or Nischawer, which is another way of reading the Pahlavi name, Vish-Shâpur. The name can also be read Vêh-Shâpur. In that case, it is the Beh-Schâpour of Tabari[2], who by some mistake attributes it to Sapor II.

---

[1] Edrisi par Jaubert I., pp. 416, 426.

[2] Karnamêh. D. Darab's text, ch I., 4, Nöldeke, p. 36.

[3] Zotenberg, Vol. I., p. 510.

[4] B. de Meynard, IV., p. 76.

[5] Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition of 1874, p. 190, l. 12.

[6] Dictionnaire de la Géographie B. de Meynard, p. 48, n. 2.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 49.

[8] Jaubert I., p. 393.

[9] Mémoires sur la Perse, par Silvestre de Sacy, p. 274, n. 4. Tabari par Zotenberg I., p. 510. Mudjmel al Tavârikh and Hamdallah Cazvini quoted by Ouseley. Travels II, p. 134.

[10] Ousley Travels I., p. 297; Edrisi I., p. 399; Yakout B. de Meynard, pp. 293-94.

Gour Artashir Gadman.—It is the Kharreh-i-Ardashir of Firdousi[3], which, he says, was subsequently also called Gour. Our text gives both the names together. The word Kharreh خره of Firdousi seems to be the corruption of the Pahlavi word Khoureh (خوره). So the correct form of Kharreh-i-Ardeshir is Khoureh-i-Ardeshir (*i. e.*, the splendour of Ardeshir). The word Khoureh is the Iranian equivalent of the Semetic word "gadman" which also means "splendour." Thus the Kharreh-i-Ardeshir of Firdousi is the same as Artashir Gadman of our text.

It is the "Ardeshir Khereh اردشیر خره of Ebn Haukal.[4] Tabari attributes to Ardeshir Bâbegân, the foundation of a city called Djour. This Djour جور is the same as the Gour of our text, which can also be read Djour. The Kâr-nâmeh[5] of Ardeshir Bâbegân also refers to the foundation of this city, which it calls Artashir Gadman. According to that work, Ardeshir founded it on his return to Pars, after his victory over the Parthian king Ardavân, and introduced therein water-works and irrigation. According to Isthakhri,[6] it was at the place of this very town that Ardeshir had gained one of his victories over his enemy. According to Ibn-el-Faqih[7], it was the Arabs who changed its name Gour to Djour. The modern name of it is, Firouzâbâd. It was a governor of this city, who changed its ancient name Gour to that of Firouzabâd. The reason was this. Whenever that governor went to the town of Gour, the people said ملک بگور رفت *i. e.*, "the king has gone to Gour." Now, the word Gour also means in Persian a grave. So, the sentence also meant, "the king has gone to his grave." They say, that the governor did not like these unlucky words, and so changed the name Gour to Firouzâbâd. According to

---

[1] Dictionnaire de la Géographie, par B. de Meynard, pp. 293-94.

[2] Zotenberg II., p. 95.

[3] Mohl. V., p. 302, ll. 438, 444.

[4] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

[5] Dastur Kaikobad's Edition. p. 15. s. 70.

[6] Dictionnaire de la Géographie, B. de Meynard, p. 75.

[7] *Ibid.*

Edrisi, the area of this city is the same as that of each of the other three cities enumerated above, *viz.*, Istakhar, Sâpur, and Dàrâbgard.

Touje.—It is the town of توج situated in the district of Istakhar.[1] It is near Kazerun. Some authors[2] include it in the district of Ardeshir Kharreh. The Pahlavi name of this town can also be read Tanpak. In that case, it can be identified with تنبوک Tenbouk, which, according to Edrisi,[3] is situated in the territories of Shâpour. Our treatise attributes i's foundation to Homâe Cheberâzâdân, who is the queen Homâe of Firdousi. "Cheherâzâd," (*i. e.*, of noble face) is the epithet applied to her. Firdousi calls her "Chehârzâd" چهارزاد which is the corruption of the original "Cheherâzâd." Mirkhond[4] gives the correct form. According to Maçoudi[5], she was so called from the name of her mother who was called Cheherâzâd. From all these oriental writers, we know nothing of her founding the town of Toujé or Tenbouk. The only town she is said to have founded was جرباد کان.[6]

VII.

Now we come to the towns of the fifth group.

Oharmazd Arteshiran.—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Hormuz, the son of Shâpur and the grandson of Ardeshir Bâbegân. But Firdousi,[7] Tabari,[8] and other authors[9] attribute it to Ardeshir Bâbegân himself. It is the modern town of Ahwâz.[10] The original name, Oharmazd Artashir, has been at times abridged and corrupted into Hormuz Shir, Hormuz Scheher, Houzmschir and Hormuz. Mirkhond,[11] like our author, attributes the foundation of this city of Hormuz, to king Oharmazd.

Râm Oharmazd.—Our treatise attributes its foundation to Oharmazd, the grandson of Ardeshir Bâbegân. Mirkhond[12] and

---

[1] Edrisi I., pp. 391, 405, Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 106, 112, 132.

[2] Dict. de la Géogr., B. de Meynard, p. 143.

[3] Jaubert I., p. 396. [4] Naval Kishore's Edition of 1874, p. 190.

[5] B. de Meynard, II., p. 129. [6] Mirkhond N. Kishore's Edition of 1874, p. 190. Meynard. [7] Mohl. V., p. 386, l. 644. [8] Zotenberg II., p. 74.

[9] Yakout Dict. de la Geogr. de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 58.

[10] *Ibid* and Tabari (Zotenberg) II., p. 74. Edrisi I., p. 364.

[11] Mémoires sur la Perse. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 293.

[12] Rauzat-us-Safa, N. Kishore's Ed., p. 223.

Maçoudi[1] also do the same. It is the Râm Hormuz of later writers. It is the contracted form of its original name Àrâm-Hormuz آرام هرمز i. e., the place of rest of Hormazd.[2]

Its founder Oharmazd is here called *tag* (brave). Mirkhond similarly calls him *dalir* دلير (*i. e.*, brave), and Maçoudi *batal*, بطل (*i. e.*, a brave man).

Shus and Shuster.—We have already referred to these towns while speaking of Khvârzem.

Vandu-i-Shâpuhar and Airângird Shâpuhar.—These two cities are said to have been founded by Shapur, the son of Artashir, *i.e.*, Shapur I. According to Maçoudi[3], the Arabs knew this monarch as Sabour el Djunoud سابور الجنود. So, the word "Vandu" in the name of the city, as given by our text, seems to resemble Djunoud, the surname of Shapur. This Vandu-i-Shapuhar seems to be the same, as the town of Chand-i-Shapur, whose foundation, Tabari[4] attributes to Shapur I. It is the Djound-i Sabour جندي سابور of Yakout.[5] According to Edrisi[6], it is situated in the district of Ahwaz in the province of Khuzistân, about one day's march from Shuster.

Airângird Shâpuhar, the second city, here referred to as being founded by Shapur I., is the Shâpurgird of Firdousi.[7] It is situated in the district of Ahwâz. It is called Airângird Shâpuhar, perhaps to distinguish it from other towns founded by Shâpur I. in the west and which also bore his name. Our text says, that it was also called Farâwâd. We know nothing of this name from other oriental writers.

Nâhar-Tira.—Our text does not mention who founded this city. It merely says, that it was founded in the reign of the wicked Azidahâk (Zohâk), and it served as a prison for the country of Irân. It is the Nâhar-Tiri نهر تيري of Ebn Haukal.[8] It is situated at the distance of one day's march from Ahwâz.[9] It is situated on a canal (نهر nehar) of a river called Tiri. Hence its name. According to Yakout[1], it was Ardeshir Bâbegân who had got this canal dug.

---

[1] B. de Meynard II., p. 166.

[2] Malcolm's History of Persia, I., p. 71.

[3] B. de Meynard II., p. 164.

[4] Zotenberg II., p. 84.

[5] Dict. de la Geog. B. de Meynard, p. 169.

[6] I., p. 383.

[7] Mohl. V., p. 392, l. 58.

[8] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 74, 77, 80.

[9] Edrisi I., pp. 379, 385.

Simlân.—It is the town of Semiran[2] سميران in the province of Kharreh-i-Ardeshir, which also contains the town of Desht دشت[3], referred to in our text, in connection with Simlân, as Desht-i-Tâzik. It is said to have been founded by king Feridun, who is said to have conquered the country of Simlân, and to have given the town of Desht, as a marriage-gift to the Arab king Bât-Khûsrô, whose three daughters he had given in marriage to his three sons. This Arab king, Bât-Khûsrô, is the king Sarv سرو of Firdousi,[4] according to whom, he was the king of Yemen in Arabia. He is the Pât Khusrôb of Dinkard,[5] according to which, he was the grandson of an Arab king named Tâz. He is also referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidad.[6] The marriage alluded to in our text, is also referred to by the Dinkard[7] and by the Pahlavi treatise of Binâ-i-Farvardin Yum-i-Khordâd.[8]

Kharayasht.—This city, which is said to have been founded by Shâpur I., seems to be the town of Sabour Khvâst سابور خواست founded by Shâpur in the country between Khouzistân and Isphahân.[9] It is at the distance of 22 farsakhs from Nehâvand.[10]

Ashkar and Veh.—Ashkar is the Asker or Asker Mokrem عسكر مكرم in Khouzistan. It is also called لشكر Leshkar.[11] It is situated at some distance from Ahwâz on the banks of the river Muchircân[13] (المشرقان). Veh seems to be the town of Hey[13] also situated in Khouzistan.

Gaê.—It is the city of Ispahan said to have been founded by Alexander the Great.

Khajrân, Adjàn and Kird.—These three cities are said to have been founded by Kobâd-i-Pirouzân, who was the father of the great Noshirwân. Tabari attributes to Kobâd the foundation of two cities Awdjân and Kazeroun. Khajrân of our text seems to be the Kazeroun of Tabari, and the Adjân of our text, the Awdjân of Tabari. According to Ebn Haukal, it was Kobâd, who had augmented Kazeroun to a considerable size.[1] The city of Kird seems to be the Gird كرد of Ebn Haukal[2] and Kird of Edrisi.[3] It is about 21 miles from Shiraz.

---

[1] Dict. de la Geog., B. de Meynard. p. 576.

[2] Edrisi I., p. 398. Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. [4] Mohl. I., p. 120, ll. 68-70.

[5] S. B. E. vol. XLVII. West Dinkard, VIII., Ch. I., 34.

[6] Spiegel Pahalavi Vendidad, p. 221. Darmesteter's Études Iraniennes Part. II., p. 216.

[7] S. B. E. XXXVII., West, Bk. VIII., Ch. XIII., 9.

[8] Dastur Jamaspji's text, p. 103, s. 14.

[9] Yakout B. de Meynard, Dict. de la Géographie de la Perse, p. 293.

[10] Ousley's Geography, pp. 167-68.

[11] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 20, 73. Asker-Mokarram of Edrisi I., p. 379.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 381. [13] Ebn Haukal, Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 77.

VIII.

Now we come to the towns of the last *i. e.*, the sixth group.

Askar.—There were two towns of the name of Askar. Of one, we have already spoken. This second Askar seems to be the Askar Nishapur of Ebn Haukal.

Atropâtakân.—It is the Atropatena of the Greek writers. According to Strabo[4], it was a Persian General named Atropate, who had founded it. This Atropate is the Azerbâd of Yakout[5], who gave the city his name. This Atropate of Strabo and Azerbâd of Yakout may be the same as Airân Gushasp, who is spoken of in our text, as the founder of Atropâtakân.

Ninav.—It is said to be founded by Ninav of Yuras. It is the well-known town of Nineveh said to be founded by Ninus.

Ganjé.—It is said to be founded by Afrâsiâb. It is the town of Ganjê or Janzè جنزه or گنجه in Azerbaizân.

Amui.—There is one thing mentioned in our book, about this town, which draws our special attention, because it is mentioned here for the first time and not mentioned in any other book. It is this, that "Zoroaster was of this city" (*Zartusht-i-Spitâmân min zak madinâ yehvunt*). Amui is nowhere else mentioned in connection with Zoroaster. Then the question is, in which part of Irân, are we to look for this town as the city of Zoroaster ?

The question, which was the native place of Zoroaster? has been much discussed. Some said, and especially the classical writers, that he belonged to the East of Irân, to Bactria, and that he was a Bactrian sage. Others said,—and among them, there were almost all oriental writers and some classical writers also,—that he belonged to the West of Irân, to Media. All the references to this much discussed question have been very fully given by Prof. Jackson of America, who himself has also ably discussed the question in his recently published work, "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Irân." The consensus of opinion is: that Zoroaster belonged both to the East and to the West of Irân, to Bactria and to Media; that Bactria, where the then king of Irân, King Gushtâsp, ruled, was the place of his ministry, the place where he promulgated his religion under the protection and with the help of the ruler; and that Media was the place of his birth, his childhood, his inspiration. Again, according to the Pahlavi books, there were two places, in Western Irân or Media, each of which claimed him as its own. These were the province of Âdarbaijân (Atropatene) in Media and the province of Ragha or Raê (Media Phagina) or Media Proper.

---

[1] Ousley's Travels I., p. 274. [2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p 89.
[3] I., pp. 402, 421. [4] XI., Ch. XVIII. [5] Dict. B. de Meynard, p. 15.

According to the Bundehesh,[1] Zoroaster was born on the banks of the river Dâraja [illegible]. The words used in connection with this place, *viz.*, "*Zaratûsht temman zâd*," *i.e.*, "Zoroaster was born there," are quite clear, and leave no doubt, that this place is referred to, as his birth-place. This river Dâraja is the modern Daryâi, which flows from Mount Savalân in Âdarbaizân and meets the river Arras. This mountain Savalân is known by Kazvini as Sebilân, and is spoken of by him, as the seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. I think, that Savalân or Sebilân is another form of Ushidarena, spoken of in the Avesta, as the mountain seat of Zoroaster's inspiration. Thus we see, that Âtropatene in Western Irân was the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Then, in the Pahlavi Vendidâd[2], Ragha or Raê is mentioned as the place of Zoroaster. (Rak...mûn Raê imellunêt......Zartûsht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt, *i.e.*, Ragha, which was called Raê......Zoroaster was of that place.) Here, Zoroaster is not said to have been born at Ragha or Raê, but it is merely said, that he belonged to that place. The above two statements, one according to the Bundehesh, and the other according to the Vendidâd, *viz.*, that Zoroaster was born in Atropâtene, and that Zoroaster belonged to Raê, are easily explained by a passage in the Shâharastâni, that "Zoroaster's father was of the region of Âdarbaijân; his mother, whose name was Dughdo, came from the city of Raê."[3] This fact, then explains, why two places in Western Irân claim Zoroaster as their own.

This brings us to the question of localizing the town of Amui, mentioned in our text, as the city of Zoroaster. The words used in our book on this point (Zartusht min Zak madinâ, Yehvûnt) are similar to those used in the Pahalavi Vendidâd about Raê (Zartusht min Zak Zinâk Yehvûnt), the only difference being, that our text uses the word "madinâ," *i. e.*, "city," instead of "Zinâk," *i. e.*, "place," in the Vendidâd. This very fact of the similarity of the language induces us to look for Amui in the province of ancient Ragha or Raê. On looking thus, we find in Tabaristân, a place called Amouyeh, which according to B. de Meynard,[1] is the same as modern Amoul. Edrisi places it at the distance of five days' journey from the town of Raê.

---

[1] S. B. E. V. West, Ch. XXIV., 15, Justi, p. 58, l. 7.

[2] Spiegel, p. 6.

[3] Quoted by Prof. Jackson, in "Zoroaster the Prophet of Irân," p. 192.

One may be tempted to identify this town of Amui with the Amui آموی of Transoxonia (on the way from Samarcand to Balkh)[2], which is the same as the Amui of Firdousi.[3] But the above consideration of the similarity of the statements of our text and of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, and of the fact, that Zoroaster's close connection with it is specially referred to, makes us look for it in the west in the province of Ragha.

Again, there is one point which requires an explanation. It is that the foundation of this city is attributed to the "Zendak-i-purmarg" (the sorcerer full of destruction). This may refer either to Ahriman himself[4], or, to an evil-disposed person of Satanic characteristics. Its foundation is attributed to Ahriman, because, this town, where Zoroaster's mother lived, was inhabited by persons, who, according to the Dinkard,[5] were hostile to her. On account of the divine plendour and glory that appeared on her countenance, they suspected her of witchcraft, and persecuted her and her family, to such an extent, that her father was compelled to send her away to another district (Atropatene), where Poûrûshasp, the father of Zoroaster, lived. There sshe was married to Poûrûshasp, and became the mother of the prophet

Bagdad.—We have already spoken of this town in the beginning. of this paper.[6]

---

[1] Dict. de la Géographie, de la Perse, &c., Table, p. 615.

[2] Ebn Haukal Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 239, 242, 275.

[3] Mohl. IV., pp. 29, 75.

[4] In the Pahalavi "Gajastak-i-Abâlis," Ahriman is called a Zendic Bartholomey's Ed., p. 1.

[5] S. B. E. XLVII., West's Dinkard, p. 20.

[6] *Supra*, p. 149.

The Etymology of a Few Towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern Writers.

[*Read 24th March* 1899. *Mr. K. G. Desai in the Chair.*]

In my last paper before the Society, I gave a short account of a few cities of ancient Irân, as presented by the recently published Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-I-Irân. In this paper, I propose giving the etymology of the names of some of these cities. I will divide the subject of my paper into two parts. I. Firstly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has not been given up to now. II. Secondly, I will take up those cities, the etymology of whose names has been given by oriental writers, and will examine how far that etymology is correct.

I.

Ctesiphon.— No oriental writer gives the derivation of its name. I think the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân helps us to derive its name. It says,[1] that it was founded by "Tus-i-Râvak-i-Sifkân," *i.e.*, by Tus, the ruler of Sifkân. I think, then, that its name is derived from the name of its founder Tus-i-Sifkân, *i.e.*, Tus of Sifkân. Ctesiphon is another form of Tus-i-Sifkân. The fact, that this city must have received its name from one Tus, is supported by the statement of Hamzah,[2] that the original name of this city was Tusfoun طوسفون.

Babylon.—It is the Bawri of the Avesta,[3] Bâbyrush of the cuneiform inscriptions[4] and Bâbel بابل of the Persian writers. The Avesta connects Azidahâka (Zohâk) with this town. The grand

---

[1] *Vide* my Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, etc., p. 78.

[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse par B. De Meynard, p. 400.

[3] Yt. V., 29.

[4] Behistun Inscription, I., 6. Rawlinson, Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X, part III. p. 197.

Bundehesh[1] says, that Azi Dahâk had built a palace in Babylon, which was known as Kûlîng Dushit, which is the "Kvirinta duzhita" of the Avesta,[2] Kulang Dis of Hamz Isphahâni, and Gang Dizh-hukht of Firdousi.[3] These references and other references by oriental writers lead to show, that Babylon (Bawri) was founded by Azi-Dahâk. Maçoudi[4] attributes its foundation to Nimrod. But according to Malcolm,[5] oriental writers identify Nimrod with Zohâk. Ebn Haukal,[6] and Edrisi[7] also attribute the foundation of Babylon (Bâbel) to Zohâk.

Now, according to the Bundehesh,[8] and the Shâhnameh[9] Azi-Dahâk or Zohâk was also known as Bīvarasp, because, as Firdousi says, he was the master of 10,000 (bivar Av. baêwarê) horses (asp). I think, then, that Bawri, the original form of the later name Bâbel, derived its name from the name of its founder Baêvarê or Bīvar-asp. The second part (asp) of the compound word is dropped. We find another instance of this kind of the dropping of the latter part in the name of Tahmuras. The original name is Takhma-urupa, but, in the Farvardīn Yasht, we find the name in its simpler form Takhma, the latter part, *urupa* being dropped. In the same way, we find the name Yima Khshaéta (Jamshed) shortened into Yima (Jam, according to the Âfrin-ī-Haft Ameshâspand). At times, instead of the second part of a compound name, the first is dropped. We find an instance of this kind in the name of this very Azi-Dahâka, which we find in some places simply Dahâk, the first part "Azi" being dropped.

Bost.—It is the Abeste of the ancients.[10] It is in the country of Arachosia referred to by Pliny. (Bk. VI. ch. 23).[11] It is one of the principal cities of the province of Seistân. Oriental writers neither give the derivation of its name nor give the name of its founder. But we learn from the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[1] that it was founded by Bastur, the son of Zarir, who was the brother of king Vishtâsp. It appears then, that the city has derived its name from its founder Bastur, the Bastavairi of the Avesta.[2]

---

[1] Darmesteter. Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 584 n. 16. Études Iraniennes, II., 210—213.

[2] Yt. XV. (Râm), 19.

[3] Mohl., I., p. 96, l. 342. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic proper names, p. 63.

[4] Maçoudi par B. DeMeynard I., p. 78.

[5] The History of Persia (1829) Vol. 1., p. 12.

[6] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 70.

[7] Géographie D'Edrisi par Jaubert, II., pp. 160-161.

[8] S. B. E. V. West, XXIX., 9; Justi, p. 69, l. 19. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 149.

[9] Mohl., I, p. 56, l. 89.

[10] D'Anville's Ancient Geography II., p. 64, English Translation of 1791, Vol. II., p. 498; Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 190, note.

[11] Bostock and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 50.

Zarenj.—It is the Zaranga or Zarang of Ptolemy. The word زرنج Zeranj can also be read "Zarang." the name which Ptolemy gives. It is the Zarinje زرنج of Ebn Haukal[3] and Edrisi[4], according to whom it was the largest city in Seistân. According to Tabari,[5] it was the capital of Seistân. According to Kinneir, Zarenj is the same place as Dooshak, the modern capital of Seistân. He says "the situation and description of Dooshak led me to suspect that it can be no other than Zarang, the old name having been lost in the constant revolutions to which this unhappy province has been subject for more than a century."[6] Kinneir seems to think. that Dooshak is the modern name, and Zarang. the older name of the city. But the fact is, that Dooshak is the older name, which seems to have been forgotten for some time. Zarang was a later name, which again was replaced by the older name Dooshak. What seems to have happened in the case of Syria, appears to have happened in the case of this city. Syria is the old name of the country. Then, after the Mahomedan conquest, it began to be known by the name of Shâm among oriental writers, and now again, it is generally known by its old name of Syria

We learn from the Avesta[7] that the old name of the capital of Seistân (Vaêkêrêta) was Duzaka ([illegible]). Kinneir does not say, what led him to suspect, that the modern Dooshak was the same as Zarenj. But the following facts lead to identify the two places Dooshak and Zarenj.

Firstly, as said above, according to the Vendidâd, Duzaka was the capital of Vaêkêrêta. and according to Tabari, Edrisi, and Ebn Haukal, Zarenj is the capital of Seistân, and we know that Vaêkèrêta is identified with Seistân. (*a*) The very fact, that the meaning of their names is the same, supports their identification. "Vaêkèrèta" means "divided or cut into two halves." Now, another common name of Seistàn is Nimruz,[1] which means half a day. According to Kinneir[2] "tradition reports, that this province was once entirely under water; but having been drained, in the short space of half a day by the Genii, it hence received the name of Nimrose." (*b*) Again tradition also supports the identification of Seistân with Vaêkêrâta. As this tradition invests Seistân with the presence of genii, so the Vendidâd invested Vaêkêrêta with the presence of a fairy known as Khnâthaiti. (*c*) Again, the geographical fact, that just as the Vendidâd speaks of Duzaka as the capital of Vaêkêrêta, the modern maps point a town named Dooshaka in Seistân, further supports the identification of Vaêkêrêta and Seistân,

---

[1] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22, s. 36. My translation, p. 91.

[2] Yt. XIII., 102.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 203, 207.

[4] Edrisi par Jaubert, I., p. 442.

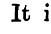
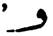
[5] Tabari par Zotenberg, III., p. 517

[6] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 192.

[7] Vendidâd, ch. I., 10.

Secondly, the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[3] says of Zarenj, that King Mânushcheher (Minocheher) took it from Frâsiâv and included it in the county of Pâtashkhvârgar. The Minokherad says the same thing about Duzaka. "From the land of Padashkhvârgar unto the beginning of Dûjako, such as Frâsîyâk had taken, by treaty he seized back from Frâsîyâk, and brought it into the possession of the countries of Irân."[4]

Thirdly, the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[5] speaks of the foundation, in Zarenj, of a fire-temple named Karkoê. This temple is the same, as that named Kerâkerkân by Maçoudi,[6] and said to be founded in Seistân.

Having stated these facts which lead to the identification of Duzaka and Zarenj, we now come to the main question of deriving the name Zarenj. I think the word Zarenj is derived from the very word Duzaka. In fact, it is another form of Duzaka. The word Duzaka may be written thus . It is so written in the Minokherad.[7] It can be read Zarzak. The final in the word, if written in Zend characters, and if written with a longer stroke towards the left, can be read "d," . The word can be then read Zarzad. The final "d,"  when written thus in Pahlavi, can be read either as g or j. So, the word in that case can be read Zarzaj. The word, when written in Persian characters in the Mahomedan times, would be written زرزج. In the Shekasté style, the letter ز z in Zarzaj is likely to be mistaken for ن n, and so the word would subsequently be written زرنج and read Zarenj. Thus we see, that the name Zarenj can be derived from the old name of the city, *viz.*, Duzaka.

---

[1] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 189, Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 21, s. 34. My translation, p. 88. [2] *Ibid* note.

[3] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22, s. 38. My translation, p. 93.

[4] S. B. E. XXIV., West. Minokherad, ch. XXVII 44.

[5] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 22, s. 38. My translation, p. 93.

[6] Traduction, de B. De Maynard Vol. IV, p. 73.

[7] Dastur Darab's Edition, ch. XXVII, 44.

Now, there remains the question to consider, why was the place called Duzaka.

The word Duzaka means 'bad or evil,' and the place seems to have been so called, because, according to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[1] it was founded by Afrâsiâb, who was a wicked Turânian monarch, and who was, therefore, cursed in the Pahlavi books. He is said to have afterwards destroyed the city and to have also extinguished the sacred fire-temple there.

Again, as said above, the place was infested with fairies and genii. That fact also may have gained for the city the appellation of Duzaka.

Kermân.—Yâkout says, on the authority of another author, that the city was so called, from the name of its founder, Kermân, who was the son of Felewdj, son of Lobthi, son of Yafet, son of Noah.[2]

According to Tarikhé Guzideh,[3] the city was so called, from the name of one of its rulers, named Bakhtê-Kerm بخت کرم who ruled there during the time of Ardeshir Babegân who conquered the city. This derivation is more probable than that, which derives the name from the name of the great great-grandson of Noah. Bakhtê-Kerm بخت کرم of the Tarikhê-Guzideh, is the Haftân *Bokht-i-Kerm* Khodâe [illegible] of the Kârnâmeh[4] of Ardeshir Bâbegân. He is often spoken of simply as Kerm کرم[5]. This Haftân Bokht-i-Kerm is the Kerm Haftwâl کرم هفتواد of Firdousi.[6]

---

[1] Dastur Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22, s. 38. My translation, p. 93.

[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. De Meynard, p. 483. [3] *Ibid* note.

[4] Nöldeke. Geschichte des Artachsîr Pâpakân, p. 49 ; Kârnamê-i-Artakhshir-i-Pâpakân, by Dastur Darâb, ch. VI. 1. p. 27, l. 3.

[5] *Ibid*, ch. VI 1, 8, 10. [6] Mohl, V, p. 308, l. 509.

His proper original name was Haftân Bokht in the Kârnâmeh and Haftwâd in the Shâhnâmeh. According to Firdousi,[1] he was called Haftwâd, because he had seven (haft) sons. The Pahlavi name Haftân Bôkht[2] may also mean seven sons. Kerm or Kerm-khodâe (lit., the lord or master of the worm) was the designation, by which he was subsequently known. The following story from Firdousi's Shâhnâmeh explains why he was called Kerm or Kerm-Khodâe, a name from which the city of Kermân is said to have derived its name

There lived in the city of Kajârân[3] كجاران in Pars a poor man named Haftwâd. He had a young daughter, who, with other girls of the city, daily went to an adjoining hill. They all passed their time there in good company and in spinning their cotton. One day, when they laid aside their spinning distaffs to have their dinner, the daughter of Heftwâd found an apple dropped from an adjoining tree. While eating it, she found a worm (كرم Kerm) in it. She carefully removed it with her finger and placed it in her distaff and went for her meals. On her return, she found, that the worm had moved round about in her cotton, and spun a good deal of it. So, her task, that day, was made very easy, and she was able to spin that day twice as much cotton as she was able to do before. She was much pleased with it and said to her friends, "Thanks to God, by the good fortune of the worm,[4] I have been able to spin twice the usual quantity this day." The next day, she carried double the quantity of cotton, and placed the worm in it. The spinning work was again finished very quickly. Every morning, she gave a piece of apple to the worm, which increased daily in size and strength, and the quantity of cotton spun increased in proportion. The increase in the daily production of yarn made the family comparatively richer and more prosperous. Haftwâd took the worm to be a possession of good omen. He gradually became richer and richer. The ruler of the city, growing jealous of him, tried to extort money from him, but he opposed, and, collecting some force, killed the ruler and captured the city. He subsequently built a large fort on an adjoining hill, where he kept the worm, which, according to the story, had grown to an enormous size. Owing to the good luck and prosperity brought about by the worm, Haftwâd and all his followers began to worship the worm as a god. It was against this Haftwâd or Bakht-i-Kerm that Ardeshir had waged his war.

---

[1] Mohl, V., p. 308, l. 510.

[2] P. بوخت son. The word Haftwâd seems to be a contracted form of Haftân Bokht. ۳۲۳ن روسی can be read Haftaô-bavâd, which seems to have been contracted into Haftavâd.

[3] ۲کدام in the Kârnâmeh. Dastur Darâb's edition ch. VI., 1. p. 27, l. 5.

[4] باختر کرم Be akhtar-i-Kerm. Possibly the name Bokht-i-Kerm is a corruption of this phrase, which occurs several times in the episode. The poor man had become rich by the good fortune of the worm. So, possibly, he was named Ba-akhtar-i-Kerm. Or, his name can be directly derived from Bakht-i-Kerm, *i.e.*, the fortune of the worm.

This story then relates how Haftwâd had received the appellation of Kerm, an appellation from which the city founded by him had received the name of Kermân.

Gour, or Jour.—It is the old name of the modern town of Firouzâbâd. Its original name was Khorreh-i-Ardeshir according to Firdousi,[1] or Ardeshir Gadman according to the Kârnâmeh[2] and the Shatrôiha-î-Irân.[3] The word Khorreh خره in the name Khorreh-i-Ardeshir is a corruption of Khorreh (Av. 𐬓𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬥𐬀𐬵 Pah. [illegible] P. خوره or خره) meaning 'splendour.' Gadman is the Semitic equivalent of Khoreh. Hence the Pahlavi name Ardeshir Gadman is an equivalent of the Persian Khorreh-i-Ardeshir. Now, the city was so called, from the name of Ardeshir, because this monarch was, according to the Kârnâmeh, invested with a certain halo, splendour or glory, which was supposed to have accompanied him in his war with Ardwân or Artabanes. The name Jour, which, according to Firdousi, was another name of Ardeshir Khorreh, seems to be another form of Khoreh (splendour). Khoreh خره or خوره and Khur خور are one and the same. The word Khur has subsequently become کور Kur.[4] The word kur کور was subsequently read گور Gour, and so the name of the town of Ardeshir Khorêh has subsequently become Gour. Perhaps the word خور Khur may have, by a mere change of points (*nuktê*) become جور Jour. It is said, that it was a governor, named Adhed ed Dooleh, who had changed the name of the town into Firouzâbâd. This town had a bracing climate, and so he often went there for a change. The people then said ملک بگور رفت *malik ba Gour raft*, *i. e.*, the King has gone to Gour. But, the word Gour also means a grave, and so the words could, at times, be misunderstood for "the King has gone to his grave."[1] So taking the name to be inauspicious, this ruler, Adhed changed it for that of Firouzâbâd.

---

[1] Mohl. V., p. 302, l. 440.

[2] Text of Dastur Darab, ch. IV, 17. *Vide* Nöldeke Geschichte des Artachsir Pâpakân, p. 47 n. 4.

[3] Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 22, s. 44. My translation, p. 99.

[4] Just as Khosrô has become Kaisar and Chosroe. We find from Ebn Haukal, that the name Korreh Ardeshir has latterly become Kureh Ardeshir (Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 87, 89).

Ahwâz.—We learn from Yakout, that it was formerly known as Hormuz. He says "El-Ahwâz, dit Abou-Zeid, était autre fois nommé Hormuz-schehr هرمز شهر .. .. Les Arabes l'appelèrent Souq-el Ahwaz."[2] Ebn Haukal also says, "Koureh Ahwaz is also called هرمز شهر Hormuz Shehr."[3] According to Mirkhond, it was called Hormuz, because it was founded by king Hormuz. "On dit que la ville d'Hormuz fut fondée par ce prince et qu'il lui donna son nom."[4] It appears then, that the above-named city of Hormus or Hormuz Schehr is the Hormuz-Artashir of the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.[5] It was so called, because, as said there, it was founded by king Hormuz. He probably named it after his own and his illustrious grandfather's joint names. Hormuz Schehr was probably a contracted form of Hormuzd Artashir, or probably it retained only the first part of the name (Hormuz) and the word Schehr was joined to it to signify city. Thus, we see, that Ahwâz is the later name of the city of Hormuz-Artashir or Hormuz Schehr or Hormuz. Edrisi also says, that Ahwâz carried the name of Hormuz. ("Hormuz qui porte aussi le nom d'Ahwaz."[6]) It appears, that Ahwaz is not only the later name of the city of Hormuz, but that the name itself is derived from that of Hormuz. In the Shatroihâ-i-Irân it is written thus [illegible] Auharmazd. That name can also be read Auhumazd. The letter [illegible] in Pahlavi is at times substituted or transmuted for the Avesta letter v. 𐬎𐬎 (*e.g.* 𐬰𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬁𐬥 in Avesta and [illegible] Zamân in Pahlavi *vide* old Pahlavi Pazand Glossary of Hoshangji and Haug, p. 239). So, the last-read form Auhumazd may have become or may have been written Auhuvazd. The last *d* was then dropped, and the name then became Auhuvaz and then Ahwaz.

---

[1] Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 174.

[2] Dictionnaire, B. de Meynard, p. 58.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, pp. 73.

[4] Mémoires sur la Perse, S. de Sacy, p. 293.

[5] Dr. Jamaspji's Ed., p. 22, s. 46. My translation, p. 103.

[6] Edrisi par Jaubert I., p. 364.

Simlân or Semirân.—The Pahlavi treatise of Shatròihà-i-Irân[1] gives the name of the city as Simlân, which can be read Simràn also. It is the same as Semiràn سمیران of Ebn Haukal[2] and Edrisi.[3] It is situated in the province of Ardeshir Khorrèh. Now, according to the Shatròihâ-i-Irân, it was founded by Feridun, who conquered it from the hands of its former king, and presented it, or a part of it named Desht, as a marriage-gift to the Arab king Bât-Khusrob, whose three daughters he had taken in marriage for his three sons. This Bât-Khusrob is the king Sarv of the Shâhnâmeh.[4] The name Sarv is derived from the latter part (Srob) of the name Bât-Khusrob. It appears then, that the city was named after this Arab king Sarv. It must have been originally named Sarvân, just as we have Turàn from the name of Tur. This word Sarvân would be written [illegible] Sarvân. By an interchange of letters Sarvân would be written Savrân [illegible]. The » *v* in this word would be changed into *m* م in Persian (*e.g.*, [illegible] into [illegible] or زمان *vide* p. 190) and the letter [illegible] when passing into Persian may be read *l* لا (*e. g.*, [illegible] and بلند). So [illegible] would be written [illegible] Samlân. Thus we see, that the name of the town Simlân or Simrân (Semiran) is derived from the name of the Arab king Sarv, to whom it was presented as a marriage gift by king Feridun, who had conquered it from its former rulers.

Askar.—It is the Askar عسکر (عسکر مکرم) of Ebn Haukal[5] and Edrisi.[6] It is a large beautiful city situated at some distance from Ahwâz in Khozistân. According to the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[7] it was founded by Ardeshir of Asfandiâr (*i.e.*, Bahman Asfandiar), and one Kharashk of Akar, [illegible] who belonged to this city, was appointed the governor (marzpân) of Jerusal (Jerusalem). I think, that this Kharashk-i-Akar is the Kirousch (Cyrus) son of Aikoun of Tabari,[1] who represents him as going with the Persian King to take Jerusalem. The final *r* of the Pahlavi word Akar being written thus, as it is at times written, it can be read as *n*. So the Pahlavi name Akar can be read and identified with Aikoun of Tabari. Again, the Pahlavi name Kharashk may be the same as Kirousch of Tabari.

---

[1] Dr. Jamaspji's Edition, p. 23, s. 50. My translation, p. 108.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 88. [3] Edrisi par Jaubert, I., pp. 898, 414.

[4] Mohl, I., p. 120, ll. 68—70.

[5] Ousley's Oriental Geography I., p. 20, n. 2, 73.

[6] Edrisi par Jaubert, I, p. 379.

[7] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 23, s. 52. My translation, p. 111.

Again, the allusion to the Kharashk of Akar in the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân is similar to the allusion to Kirousch in Maçoudi.[2] According to that author, in the reign of Bahman of Asfandiâr, the Israelites returned to Jerusalem, and Korech, the Persian, governed Irâk on behalf of Bahman. Thus, we see, both from the Pahlavi treatise and from Maçoudi, that it was one Kharashk, who had ruled in Jerusalem on behalf of Bahman, who is said to have founded the town of Askar. Now, it seems, that as this Kharashk had done him some service, Bahman may have named the new town, that he founded, after his name. In that case, we can attribute the difference in the forms of the two names—Askar and Kharashk—to a change of letters; the letter *r*, which is second in the latter name, having changed place, occurs last in the former name. By a re-arrangement of letters Kharashk would become Khashkar, and the word then can also be read Ashkar.

Nineveh.—This city has received its name from its founder. According to the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[3] its original name is Ninav, and it was founded by one Ninav. This Ninav is the Ninus, to whom, according to Kinneir,[4] other writers ascribe its foundation. The Pahlavi book calls the founder Ninav-i-Jurâshân (or Yurâshân). Though, according to the Pahlavi book, the name of the town and its founder is Ninav, other writers have changed the name into Nineveh. I think, that the reason of this change is this. In the abovementioned name of the founder (Ninav-i-Jurâshân, *i.e.*, Ninav of Jurash) they have taken the "i." expressing the meaning "of," to be a part of the original name, because the genitive is again expressed by the last termination "ân." So they have taken Ninav-i (Nineveh) to be the proper name.

---

[1] Tabari par Zotenberg, (Chap. CVII.) I., p. 500.

[2] Maçoudi, par B. de Meynard, II., pp. 127-128. Maçoudi gives the name کورش Korech, which resembles more the Kharashk of the Pahlavi book.

[3] Dr. Jamaspji's Edition, p. 24, s. 57. My Translation, p. 115.

[4] Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 259.

The Pahlavi book calls this founder Jurâshân, i. e., "of Jurâsh." This name Jurâshân can be read Junâshân, if we take the "r" to have been written ', as it can be written in that way also. This Junâsh, then, is the Hebrew prophet Jonas, who had been ordered to go to Nineveh,[1] and whose sepulchre is said to have been in the city of Nineveh. The Pahlavi writer seems to have thought, that the founder Ninav belonged to the family of Jonas, whose tomb was in the town. Maçoudi also says, that Jonas was of this city: "C'est à cette cité que Dieu envoya autrefois Jonas, fils de Mati."[2] The Mati of Maçoudi is the Amittai of the Scriptures (Jonah I, 1).

II.

Samarcand.—According to Tabari, Samarcand derived its name from Schamr, a general of an Arab king, Tobba 'Abou-Karib, who conquered it: "Le général arriva à Samarcand . . . . Il se rendit maître de la ville, la détruisit et tua un grand nombre d'habitants. Ensuite il la reconstruisit et la nomma, d'après lui, Samarcand, car auparavant elle avait porté un autre nom. Samarcand veut dire 'la ville de Schamar ;' car en langue pehlvie *qand* signifie 'une grande ville ;' les Arabes en traduisant ce nom dans leur langue en ont fait Samarqand."[3]

We do not find in the Pahlavi language the word "qand" in the sense of a great city as mentioned by Tabari. Perhaps, the word is [illegible] *kant*, from [illegible] (traditionally read Kantan, now read Kardan, کردن) *i.e.*, to do. Then, the name Samarcand may mean "founded by Samar." We find instances of names similarly formed, in Dârâbgird (*i.e.*, the city founded by Dârâb) and Shapurgird. On the analogy of these names the proper form of the name should be Samarkird or Samargird. Or, possibly, the word *qand* is from

---

[1] Old Testament, Jonah, I, 1, 3; III, 2. Maçoudi, par B. De Meynard, Vol. I., p. 111.

[2] Maçoudi, par B. De Meynard, Vol. II., p. 93.

[3] Tabari, par Zotenberg, II., p. 33, Partie II, Ch. V.

Pahlavi [illegible] (*Kandan*, to dig, to root out). In that case Samarcand may mean '(the city) dug out or excavated by Samar.'' In this sense, it may rather refer to the fact of the old town being destroyed by Samar, than to the fact of the new town being founded by him. It is possible that the inhabitants of the town, instead of commemorating and connecting the name of the conqueror with its construction, connected it with its destruction.

That it was so derived, and not as Tabari mentions it, appears from other authors, on whose authority Percival writes his history of the Arabs. He says,[1] "Chammir-Yeràch . . . . détruisit les murs et une partie des édifices de la capitale de la Soghdiane. Les gens du pays appelèrent alors cette ville ruinée Chammir-cand, c'est-à-dire, Chammir l' a détruite. Ce nom, un peu altéré par les Arabes, devint Samarcand. Chammir lui-même la restaura ensuite." Under any circumstances, the city derives its name from Samar. Maçoudi[2] also derives its name from Samar.

Tabari[3] gives the following story about its conquest by Samar. Samar had besieged the town for one year without success. One night, taking a quiet walk round the city, he took prisoner one of the guards on duty at one of the gates of the city. He asked him how it was that the city was so well defended. The guard said that the king himself was addicted to drinking and pleasures, but that he had a daughter who was very intelligent, and that it was she who so well defended the city. On further inquiry, Samar learnt that she was not married. He thereupon sent her, as a present, a golden ox full of pearls, rubies, and emeralds with the following message: "I have come from Yemen in your search. I want your hand in marriage. I have 4,000 golden boxes of the kind I send you. I am not anxious about the capture of this city. I will leave it to your father to rule. If a son will be born of our marriage, I will make him the king of Persia and China[4]. If you will like, I will send the 4,000 boxes at night to your city." The guard carried that private message to the young princess, who was soon duped. She accepted the offer, and, according to a previous arrangement, opened one of the four gates of the city for the admission of the promised boxes, each of which, instead of the treasure, contained two armed men. The boxes were placed on 4,000 asses, each of which was conducted by an armed man. By this piece of treachery 12,000 armed men were admitted into the city at night. At a given signal, they all rushed out of the boxes, opened the gates of the city, and Samar entered with all his troops. He killed the king and took his daughter a prisoner.

---

[1] Essai sur L' Historie des Arabes, par Perceval, Livre II. Yaman, I., p. 80.

[2] Maçoudi traduit par B. de Meynard et P. de Courteille, III., p. 224, Ch. XLVI.

[3] Tabari par Zotenberg, II pp. 157-159, Partie II. Chap. XXXI.

Rendered into English from the French of Zotenberg. *Ibid*, p. 157.

According to Tabari,[1] this event had happened in the reign of Kobâd, the father of Noshirwân (A. D. 490—532). Perceval places this Chammir or Samar in the middle of the first century.[2] Hamza and Nowayri[3] make him a contemporary of Gushtâsp, who had reigned a long time before Alexander the Great. If we at all attribute the name Samarcand to Samar, we must place his time long before that of Alexander, because, according to the Greek writers, who have written about Alexander, this city was taken by him, and it was then known as Maracanda, a name which is the same as Samarcand. That Samarcand was taken by Alexander the Great, appears from the Pahlavi book Shatrôihâ-i-Irân,[4] from Tabari,[5] and from Greek writers. The name Samarcand occurs only once in other Pahlavi works, and that in the Bundehesh.[6] We do not find the name in the Avesta, though we find there the name of Sugdha[7] (Sogdiana), of which it is the capital. This shows, that possibly the name came into use later, when it derived its name from Samar.

Balkh.—According to Ahmed Razi[8] Kazvini,[9] and Mirkhond,[10] this city was originally founded by king Kaiômars. Mirkhond gives the following story, which gives the etymology of the name:—"Kaiomars had a brother in the regions of the west, who occasionally came to visit him: who, at this time having undertaken the journey to converse with his revered brother, found, on his arrival at Damâvend, that Kaiomars was absent. On inquiring into his affairs, and learning, that he was then engaged in founding a city in the east, this affectionate brother immediately directed his course thither, and completed the long journey. At the moment of his arrival, Kaiômars, who was seated on an eminence, having beheld his brother, exclaimed : 'Ho! who is this who directs his course towards us?' One of his sons answered : Perhaps a spy, sent by the enemy to find out our situation.' On which, Kaiômars armed himself, and, accompanied by the same son, went out to meet him : but when they drew near each other, Kaiomars recognised his brother, and said to his son, Bál Akh ! (Arabic بل assuredly, and اخ brother) (*i. e.*, this is surely my brother) from which circumstance the city was called Balkh."[1]

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 156.

[2] L'Histoire des Arabes, I., p 82. This follows from the fact that he places his grandson Tobba El-Acrab in 90 to 140 A. D.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Dastur Jamaspji's Text. p. 18 s. 4. My Translation, p. 55.

[5] Tabari par Zotenberg, I., p. 517.

[6] S. B. E., Vol. V., West, Ch. XX., 20. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 95.

[7] Vendidad, I., 5.

[8] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 112, n.

[9] Ousley's Travels of Persia, II., p. 372.

[10] Shea's Translation, p. 58. Munshi Naval Kishore's Edition, p. 150.

Now, the Avesta name of Balkh is supposed to be Bâkhdhi 𐬠𐬁𐬑𐬜𐬌 (Bactria).[2] The Pahlavi rendering of this name is 𐮁𐮀𐮇𐮅 which can be read either Bâkhar or Bâkhal,[3] and which can be identified with Bokhârâ or Balkh.

We do not know why Bâkhdhi is so called in the Avesta, and what its meaning is. But, if we try to trace its origin to a compound of words, meaning "brother assuredly," as Mirkhond has taken its later form Balkh to mean, one can form a compound Bâdha-akh 𐬠𐬁𐬜𐬀-𐬀𐬑, which will be a compound of an Avesta word Bâdha 𐬠𐬁𐬜𐬀 meaning assuredly, and a Pahlavi word Akh 𐮀𐮇 meaning brother. This word Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh can easily become Balakh, as the word *madha-kha* has become *malakh*. Thus, the old name Bâkhdhi may have been formed from the above name Bâdha-akh or Bâdhakh by the interchange of "dh" and "kh," such interchanges of letters being common.

But, the objection to this may be, that the compound so formed is of an Avesta word and a Pahlavi word. So one must look into the Avesta language itself for both the words. We find them in Brâtar 𐬠𐬭𐬁𐬙𐬀𐬭 brother, and 𐬰𐬍 Zi, assuredly. This word Brâtarzi, then, may, by some corruption, become Bâkhdhi.

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Vendidad, I., 7.

[3] The word Balkh can be thus derived from the Avesta Bâkhdhi. The Avesta "dhi" is changed into "l" as in the case of *madhakha* (𐬨𐬀𐬜𐬀𐬑𐬀), which has subsequently become *malakh* (ملخ). Thus Bâkhdhi becomes Bâkhal, and then "l" and "kh" interchange places. (Darmesteter's Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II., p. 8, n. 14).

Herat.—According to an oriental writer, this city owes its name to its founder Herat, an emir of Narimân. "Hérat, dit le géographe Persan . . . . . a été fondée par un des êmirs du célèbre Nériman le héros du monde, qui portait le nom de Hérat, et après avoir été ruinée, elle a été rétablie par Alexandre." (Mémoires sur la Perse, par S. de Sacy, p. 389, n. 84.)

This etymology seems to be imaginary. Firstly, we do not find from the Bundehesh or from the Shâhnâmeh, that Nariman had an *emir* named Hérat. Again, Herat is Harôyû of the Avesta, Hariva of the cuneiform inscriptions, Harî of the Pahlavi Vendidad, Harâe of the Shatrôihâ-i-Irân, and Harôi of the Bundehesh.[1] According to William Ousley, Herat was formerly known as Hari, a name by which the river Harirûd, which flows by its side, is still known. The word Hari or Harôyû is derived from *har* सर to flow, because the country is watered by a large river. In the Vendidâd (Ch. I. 9), the city is said to be Vish-harezanem, *i.e.*, well-watered, because it was watered by the river.

Pusheng.—This town, also spoken of by some, as Bouschendj (بوشنج) is situated at the distance of about ten farsakhs from Herat. It was so called, because it was originally founded by Pashang, the son of the Turânian king Afrâsiâbn.[2] The other name of this place was Shideh.[3]

Tus.—This city is the modern Meshed. According to some authors, it was situated a little near the modern Meshed. It was so called, because it was founded by Tûs, the son of the Irânian king Naôdar.[4] The Pahalavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân[5] and the Dabistân[6] also attribute the foundation of this city to general Tûs.

---

[1] Justi, p. 50, l. 17. Chap. XX. *Vide* my Bundehesh. p. 93.

[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. De Meynard, p. 122.

[3] Shâhnâmeh, Mohl, IV., p. 30, l. 318.

[4] Mccan's Calcutta Edition of the Shâhnâmeh, Persian Introduction, p. 32, ll. 7-9. Mohl, II., pp. 595—631.

[5] Dastur Jamaspji's Edition, p. 19, s. 14. My Translation, p. 65.

[6] Shea and Troyer's Translation, Vol I., p. 52.

Nishâpour.—This city was founded by Shapour I., from whom it derives its name. Various stories are given about the event, which led Shapour to build it. Hamd Allah Mustôfi[1] gives the following story :—

"Ardeshir Bâbegân built a city which he named Neh (P. نه). (*i.e.*, the city). His son Shapour, who was the Governor of Khorâsân, requested his father to give that town to him, but his request was refused. Piqued at this refusal, he built in its vicinity, on the ruins of the ancient town founded by Tehmuras, another city, and, to distinguish it from the Neh founded by his father, called it Neh-Shapour, which the Arabs afterwards changed into Nicabour."

Others give another story and etymology. They say, that Shapour, once passing the locality of this town, had remarked, that it was full of Naê (P. نی) *i.e.*, reeds. So, the city, built afterwards on that locality, was known as Naê Shapour (*i.e.*, the reeds of Shapour).[2] Edrisi[3] also refers to this story, but he attributes it to Shapour II.

Others[4] give the following story to derive its name. The astrologers had predicted, that Shapour would one day lose his throne, and be reduced to poverty, and that he would suffer great misfortunes, till the time of his restoration to the throne. Shapour asked the astrologers, how he was to know, that the time of his restoration had come. They said, "you may expect restoration to the throne when you eat golden bread on an iron table." The prediction turned out to be true. He lost his throne, and wandered in deserts and mountains, till he came to the city of Esfadjân. There he served as a labourer at the house of a cultivator, who, pleased with his work and energy, gave him his daughter in marriage. This wife of Shapour carried his meals every day to the fields. One day, being invited at a marriage in the village, she forgot to prepare the meals for Shapour. Being reminded late of this fact, she hastened to her house from the marriage party, took with her a few cakes prepared with honey, which were ready in the house, and which presented a yellow colour like that of gold, and ran to the field, where Shapour was working. A small trench separated Shapour from the place, where she stood. So, she could not hand over the cakes to Shapour. He consequently extended towards her, his spade, over which she placed the golden-coloured cakes. The sight of the golden-coloured bread, placed over the iron spade, reminded Shapour of the astrologer's prediction, that the eating of a golden bread over an iron table would bring about his restoration to the throne. He recounted the story of the prediction to his wife, declared to her, who he was, and hastened home to be ready to go to his native country. He put on his royal robe and dress, which he had concealed in a bag. He wrote to his ministers and informed them of his whereabouts. He got his coat of mails suspended at the gate of his house. The ministers, on hearing from Shapour, sent courtiers to bring back Shapour to the royal city. They came to a place and inquired about Shapour's whereabouts. They were told "Nist Sapour" نیست ساپور *i.e.*, Shapour is not here. Hence it is, they say, that the place was called "Nist Sapour" نیست ساپور and then Nishapour (نیشاپور). The courtiers, not finding Shapour at that place, proceeded further, and came to a place, where the people asked them, what they had come there for. They replied " Sabour Khâst.' سابور خواست (from خواستن to wish, to look for), *i. e.*, we look for Shapour. Hence the place was called Sabour Khâst. This seems to be the city, known as Sabour Khawst. The courtiers, on proceeding further, came to the village where Shapour lived. His house being discovered by means of the coat of mails, hung at the gate, they said, Jandim[1] Sabour جندیم سابور *i.e.*, we have found Shapour. Hence the place was called Joundi Sabour. This is the city, known as Vandu-i-Shapuhar in the Pahlavi treatise of Shatrôihâ-i-Irân.

---

[1] Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 578. n. Rendered into English from B. de Meynard's French.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 578.

[3] Edrisi, par Jaubert, II., p. 182. n.

[4] Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 169.

Nehavend.—According to Yakout,[2] some writers say, that its original name was Nouh-âwend. They thus derive its, name from Noah, and say that the city was originally built by him.

Shâm.—Shâm is the modern name of Syria. Asiatic writers call it Bald-el-Shâm, *i. e.*, the city on the left (Arab. شمال). According to

---

[1] This word seems to be the same as Pahlavi vandâdan [illegible](to find, to obtain).

[2] Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 573.

Maçoudi, Yemen is so called, because it is situated on the right hand side of Kaabah, and Syria is called Shâm, because it is situated on the left of Kaabah.[1]

Others derive the name Shâm from Arabic شام or شوم "unlucky" and the name Yemen from Arabic يمن "lucky." They say, that Yemen (Arabia Felix) is so called, because it is very fertile.

Farika.—It is the Afrikie افريقيه of Edrisi,[2] Afrinkeieh افرنقيه of Ebn Haukal[3] and modern Africa. Maçoudi calls it Afrikiyah افريقيه. According to this author, the country received its name from one Africas, the son of Abrahah, افريقس بن ابرهه who founded it.[4] The Romans had first introduced this name into Europe. At first, they knew the country round Carthage by the name of Africa.

Nahartirak.—It was so called, because it is situated on the canal (nehar نهر) of the river Tira.[5] According to Yakout,[6] the river was so called from the name of Tira, a son of Goudaraz, the Vazir of Kaikhosru.

Âtaropâtakan.—According to Strabo[7] the city had derived its name from one Atropâte who had saved it from passing into the hands of the Macedonians. Yakout[8] says, that, according to Ibn el-Moquanna, it received its name from its founder Azerbâd اذرباد. This word Âzerbâd is the same as Âtropâte. But this oriental writer places this personaee, in times much anterior to that of the Macedonian conquest The Pahalvi Shatrôitrâ-i-Irân[9] attributes its foundation to one Airân Goushasp, a name which can also be read Âdarân Goushasp. In that case, the first part of the name Âdar, is the same as the Âtro in Strabo's name Âtropâte and is the same as Âzer in Yakout's name Âzerbâd.

---

[1] Maçoudi. III., p. 139.

[2] Edrisi par Jubert II., p. 73.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 15.

[4] Maçoudi, III., p. 224.

[5] Dictionnaire de la Perse, B. de Meynard, p. 576.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Bk. XI., ch. XIII., Strobo says: "It had its name from Atropatus, a chief who prevented this country, which is a part of Greater Media, from being subjected to the dominion of the Macedonians." (Hamilton and Folconer's Translation [1856] Vol. II., p. 262.)

[8] Dictionnaire de la Perse. B. De Meynard, p. 15.

[9] Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 24, s. 56. My Translation, p. 115.

The Ancient Name of Sanjân.

[Read 23rd August 1900).—Mr. James MacDonald in the Chair.]

Sanjân is a small town on the B. B. and C. I. Railway, 90 miles from Bombay. The object of this paper is to ascertain, whether it is the Sindân of the Arab geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries, as stated by the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XIV Thana), and, whether it is the town of Hanjamana (हंजमन), referred to in the three Silhâra grants[1] of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Sanjân is a town well-known in the history of the Parsees. As the *Bombay Gazetteer*[2] says, "it was here that, about the year 720, a band of Persian refugees settled." Kisseh-i-Sanjân, *i. e.*, the episode or story of Sanjân, is the name of a small Persian poem written, not in very elegant verses, by one Bahman Kekobâd Hormazdyâr Sanjânâ in the year 969 Yazdazardi (1000 A.D.).[3] Therein are described the events that brought the Parsee emigrants to the town of Sanjân, and then led them to settle in the different parts of Gujarât.

I.

The *Gazetteer* says of this town :—

"By the Arab geographers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, Sanjân, under the name Sindân, is repeatedly mentioned as one of the chief ports of Western India. In the 10th century (915) it is described as famous for the export of an emerald equal to the best in brightness and colour, but harder and heavier, known as the Mecca emerald, because it passed through Arabia. It is also described as a great, strong city with a Jâma mosque. In the twelfth century it is mentioned as populous, the people noted for industry and intelligence, rich and warlike, the town large, and with a great export and import trade."

---

[1] (*a*) Asiatic Researches I, p. 357. Paper by General Carnac. (*b*) Indian Antiquary V, p. 276. Paper by Dr. Bühler. (*c*) Indian Antiquary IX, p. 33, Paper by Mr. K. T. Telang.

[2] Vol. XIV (Thana), p. 301.

[3] It is translated into English verse by Lieut. Eastwick. Journal, B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 167.

Let us examine how far this statement of the *Gazetteer* is correct. The writer of the above passage bases his description on the authority of the well-known Arab writers, Ebn Haukal (950 A. D.), Edrisi (1130 A. D.), Maçoudi (943 A. D.), Istakhri (950 A. D.) and others. As the writer has not given direct references to the works of these authors, except in the case of Maçoudi, it appears that he has taken for his authority the extracts of their works in Elliot's History of India.[1]

Firstly, let us examine the references to Ebn Haukal. According to Elliot's manuscript Ebn Haukal gives the name of the following towns in Hind[2]:—Fâmhal, Kambâya, Sûrbârah, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Hadrawar, and Basmat. According to Gildemeister's manuscript,[3] the names of the towns are Kâmuhul, Kambâya, Subâra, Asâvil, Hanâvil, Sindân, Saimûr, Bâni Battan, Jandarûz, Sandarûz. According to Ousley's manuscript,[4] the names of the towns in Hind are Seidan (سیدان), Meimoun, Multan and Heidour.

Thus, we see, that one manuscript of Ebn Haukal gives, as principal towns in Hind, the names of 8 towns, another manuscript, those of 10 towns, and a third, of 4 towns. Again, we find a difference in the names of one and the same town in different manuscripts. This is due to the carelessness, at first, of the writer, and then of the copyists, in not putting carefully the diacritical points over the letters. We find, even the celebrated geographer Aboulfide (A. D. 1273 to 1331) complaining about it. He says, "The book of Ebn Haukal is a work of considerable length, in which the different countries are described with sufficient exactness. But neither are the names of places marked by the proper points, nor are their longitudes or latitudes expressed; this frequently occasions an uncertainty respecting the places, proper names, &c." [5]

---

[1] History of India, Vol. I, pp. 26-130.

[2] History of India, Vol. I., p. 34.

[3] *Ibid*, note 1.

[4] The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal by Sir William Ousley, p. 147.

[5] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. XVIII. "Il y manque la manière dont doivent se prononcer les noms de lieux." Géographie D'Aboulféda par M. Reinaud, Tome I, p. 1.

Leaving aside the names of the other cities of Hind, we find, that the town, spoken of as Sindân in the manuscripts of Elliot and Gildemeister, is Seidan in Ousley's manuscript. But later on (p. 154), where the "distances of place" in Sind and part of Hind are spoken of, we find the name as Sindân سندان even in Ousley's manuscript. Thus, though there is a little uncertainty about the correct name of the place, we would proceed with our examination of the name, taking it to be Sindân.

According to Ebn Haukal, "Kambâya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Sûbâra, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Sûbâra to Sindân, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five[1] days' journey; from Sindân to Saimûr, about five; from Saimûr to Sarandip, about fifteen."[2] This is according to the manuscript of Elliot. Ousley gives these distances according to his manuscript as follows:—"Sourbah is near the sea: from Sindân to Sourbah is five merileh."[3]

We find from these two passages of the two different manuscripts of Ebn Haukal, that, what is spoken of as Sûbâra in one, is Sourbah سورباة in the other. Sûbâra is probably a more correct reading. It is identified with the Sarpâraka of the copper-plate inscriptions, with the Sûrpâraka of the Mabâbhârata, and with the modern Sopârâ, near Bassein.[4] Thus, according to Ebn Haukal, Sindân is five days' journey from modern Sopârâ. So, if the town of Sanjân in Konkan is the Sindân of Ebn Haukal, it is five days' journey from Sopârâ. A day's journey, or merileh (مرحله) as it is called, is, according to Edrisi's Geography, 30 miles.[5] So the distance by miles, between Sanjân and Sopârâ, would be about 150 miles. But we know, as a matter of fact, that it is not more than 52 miles, or more than two days' journey.

---

[1] As corrected by Elliot (Vol. I. p. 39 note). According to Gildemeister's manuscript it is 10 (*ibid*). Ousley's text gives 5. Ousley's text differs a good deal from Elliot's.

[2] Elliot's History of India, Vol. I. p. 39.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 154.

[4] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 44.

[5] "Évaluant la journée à 30 milles" (Géographie d'Édrisi par Jaubert, Tome II., p. 231, cinquième climat, première section). "60 milles ou 2 journées" (*Ibid*, p. 232). Ousley's Oriental Geography, Preface, p. XXII note.

Again, according to the above passage, Kambâya, which the *Gazetteer* indentifies with Cambay, is one parasang, *i.e.*, about 3¾ miles from the sea, and four parasang, *i.e.*, about 15 miles from Subâra, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with the modern Sopârâ near Bassein. We know, as a matter of fact, that the distance between Cambay and Sopârâ is not so short as 15 miles. It is nearly 270 miles.

These calculations of distances tend to show, that the Sindân, referred to above by Ebn Haukal, is not the Sanjân of the Konkan, but some other town near Cambay. It is another Sindân, spoken of as Kachh Sindân in Elliot's History[1], and as the Cutch Sindân (Sandhan) by the *Gazetteer* itself.[2]

We will now examine the reference to the Arab Geographer Edrisi. He says, " From Subâra to Sindân is considered five days. Sindân is a mile and a half from the sea. . . . . East of Sindân there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoanut palm, kanâ and rattan grow there."[3]

We have seen in the case of the reference in Ebn Haukal, that if the Soubârâ referred to, is the modern Sopârâ, the Sindân, referred to as being five days' journey from it, is not the Konkan Sanjân. In the same way, the reference in this passage clearly shows, that the Sindân of Edrisi cannot be the Konkan Sanjân. Here it is said, that there is an island of the same name on the east of Sindân, but we know, as a matter of fact, that there is no sea at all on the east of modern Sanjân. The sea is on the west of it. Suppose, for argument's sake, that the writer meant to say the " west " instead of the " east." Such slips of words may occur.[4] But then, even on the west of the Konkan Sanjân, we have no island. So, it seems to be clear, that the Sindân of Edrisi is not the Sanjân of Konkan.

---

[1] I, p. 450, n. 2.

[2] Vol. XIV, p. 302, note 4.

[3] Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 85. Joubert also gives a similar version. " De Soubara à Sendan, on compte également 5 journées. Sendan سندان a un mille et demi de la mer ‘c'est bien peuplée, et ses habitants se font remarquer par leur industrie et leur intelligence ; ils sont riches et d'humeur belliqueuse. La ville est grande ; elle fait un grand commerce d'exportation et d' importation.' Al'est de Sendan est une île du même nom, grande, bien cultivée, ou croissent le cocotier, le palmier, le cana et le rotting, et qui dépend de l'Inde." Géographie D' Edrisi par Joubert, Tome I, p 172.

[4] *Vide* Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 44, col. I, l. 4, for one such instance.

We now come to the direct references of the *Gazetteer* to the Arab writer Maçoudi. This writer, as it appears from his writings, had come personally to India, and so his references to Sindân and Soufâreh are not made with any second-hand knowledge. While speaking on the subject of the flux and reflux of waters, *i. e.*, on ebb and tide, he says :—

Voici qce us j'ai vu dans l'Inde, sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye (كنبايه), célèbre par ses sandales, nommées sandales de Cambaye, qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villes voisines, telles que Sendan et Soufareh (Soufaloh) (سندان و سوفارة). J'étais à Cambaye dans l' année 303."[1]

In this passage, Maçoudi speaks of Sindân and Soufâreh, as towns in the neighbourhood of Cambay. In his quotation from Maçoudi, the writer of the *Gazetteer*[2] makes Maçoudi say, that the town of Sindân was "near Sufâreh and south of Cambay." But we find from the above quotation, that Maçoudi, at least the manuscript of Barbier de Meynard, says nothing about Sindân being south of Cambay. However, that is not an important point. This reference, then, shows, that we must look for the town of Sindân somewhere near Cambay, and not at Sanjân in the Konkan. There is another reference to Sindân[3] in Maçoudi in Chap. XVI, where he speaks about an Indian Gulf. That reference also shows, that we must look for this Sindân near a gulf, somewhere near Cambay and not in the Konkan. A third reference,[4] wherein Maçoudi says, that the best emeralds came from ndân, also points to the neighbourhood of Cambay for the tuation of Sindân.

---

[1] Maçoudi par B. de. Meynard, Vol. I., pp. 253-54.

[2] Vol. XIV, p. 302, note 4.

[3] Maçoudi per B. de Meynard, Vol. I., p. 330, Chap. XVI. "Puis vient la mer Larewi, qui baigne les territoires de Seïmour, Soubareh, Tabeh, Sindan, Kambaye et autres, faisant partie de l'Inde et du Sind."

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 47. "Une province de l'Inde, le Sindân et les environs de Kambaye dans les états du Balhara roi de Maukir fournissent une espèce d'émeraude. . ."

Now, we come to the references in Istakhri. Among the cities of Hind, ie enumerates "Amhal, Kambâya, Sûbâra, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Jandrud, and Basmand."[1] Then speaking about the distances between the different places, he says: "From Kambâya to Sûrabâya[2] about four days, and Sûrabâya is about half a parasang from the sea. Between Sûrabâya and Sindân about five days."[3] These distances given by Istakhri, which are the same as those given by the Arab geographers, Ebn Haukal and Edrisi, also tend to show, that the Sûrabâya and Sindân, referred to by him, are not the Sopârâ and Sanjân of Konkan, because the actual distance between them is not five days' journey, as stated by him. Istakhri[4] further says, that there are Jamâ masjids in all the above towns of Hind enumerated by him. This reference to the Jamâ Masjid also shows, that it is not the Konkan Sindân or Sanjân that Istakhri refers to, but it is the Cutch Sindân. We will touch upon this point later on.

I think, therefore, that the town of Sindân, referred to by the above Arab geographers, is not the Konkan Sanjân, but the town of Sindân in Cutch. It is the same, as the Sindân, referred to by Ibn Khurdadba, in his Kitabu-l-Masâlik wa-l-Mamâlik[5], as being situated in the countries of Sind. It is the same as the Sindân referred to by Al Bilâdurî in his Futuhu-l-Buldân, as the town, where a large Jâmi masjid was built by Fazl, son of Mâhân.[6]

This reference to the Jâmi Masjid tends to show, that the Sindân referred to by the Arab geographers was not the Sindân of Konkan, as supposed by the *Gazetteer*, but the Sindân of Cutch. About this Sindân, where Fazl had built a large Jâmi Masjid, as referred to by Ibn Khurdâdba, Elliot says, that "the town here spoken of, is more probably the Sindân or Sandân in Abrâsa, the southern district of Kachh."[1] Giving a reference to the statement of the above Arab author, Al Bilâduri, and to the above statement of Elliot, the *Gazetteer* on their authority says: "Besides the Konkan Sindân the Arab geographers of that time mention the Cutch Sandhân."[2]

---

[1] Elliot's History of India I., p. 27.

[2] According to Abu-l-Fedá, Sûfâra, Sûfâla, Sûbâra are variants. Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 402.

[3] Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 30.

[4] Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 27.

[5] Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 14.

[6] Elliot, *Ibid* p. 129, p. 450.

Thus we see, that it is to the Cutch Sindân, that the Arab geographers refer to, when they speak of the Jâmi masjid as being in the town of Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân. So also the Arab geographers, Ebn Haukal[3] and Istakhri,[4] when they speak of mosques in the town of Sindân, refer to the Cutch Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân.

Thus, all the Arab authors, referred to by the *Gazetteer*, *viz*, Ebn Haukal, Edrisi, Maçoudi, and Istakhri, do not refer at all to the Konkan Sindân or modern Sanjân. I also think, that the Sufâra, Sufâla, Subâra, &c., referred to by them, is not the modern Sopârâ of Konkan near Bassein.

II.

Now, before coming to the second part of our paper, we will pause a little, and inquire, who it was that, according to the Parsee tradition, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, first called the place (Konkan Sindân) Sanjân.

In the Kisseh-i-Sanjân,[5] referred to above, it is said, that Sanjân was so named by the leaders of the Parsee emigrants who settled there. The poem says, that, after their final defeat at the hands of the Arabs in the battle of Nehâvand (in 641 A. D.), and after the death of their king Yozdajisd (in 651 A. D), the Parsees wandered for 100 years in the mountainous district (Kohistân) of Khorâssân, and then settled for fifteen years in the island of Hormaz. They then betook themselves to the shores of India, where they landed in Div in Kathiâwâr, and stopped there for nineteen years. Thence, they sailed to Gujarat, and landed at a place which they latterly named Sanjân. Thus, it was in the year 785 that the place was named Sanjân.

---

[1] Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 450, n. 2.

[2] *Gazetteer*, Vol XIV, p. 302, n. 4.

[3] Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 147.

[4] Elliot, I., p. 27.

[5] The Revâyet of Dôrâb Hormazdyâr, that is being published, by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ, pp. 341—354. Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 167—191.

The poem says that the leader, a Dastur, of the emigrants went to the ruler of that place, who was named Jâdi Rânâ, and explained to him the circumstances, under which they had left their country, and had come to India, and solicited the favour of the allotment of a place where they could make their abode. The Râjâ, after making certain inquiries from the new-comers, and after making certain conditions, welcomed them to his shores and allotted them a piece of ground, where they could settle themselves. It was at first a desert-like place, but they soon turned it into a habitable place.

[1] بدشتي در قبول افتاد يكجاي
زمين خوش بود آنجا كرد ماواي
قبول افتاد مردم را در آنجا
ز جنگل باز شهرى شد هويدا
همه جنگل بيابان بود ويران
فرو آمد همه برنا و پيران
چو دستور آن زمين نيكرا ديد
در آنجا بهر ماندن جاى بگزيد
مر اورا نام سنجان كرد دستور
بسان مُلک ايران گشت معمور

Translation.—A place in the desert was accepted. The ground was excellent, and they made it their place of abode. The place was acceptable to all persons. A city was created, where there was formerly a desert. It was an uncultivated and an unpopulated desert. All the young and the old landed there. When the Dastur saw this good place, he found it to be a proper place for abode. The Dastur gave it the name of Sanjân, and it was made prosperous like the country of Irân.

According to this passage, then, it was the Parsees who had first named it Sanjân. Now the question is, why was it named Sanjân by the Parsees. One may say, that it was so named after a town of that name in Persia. As modern colonists name the new towns in their adopted country after the names of the towns of their mother-country, *e.g.*, New England, New York, so the ancient Parsees perhaps named their new place of abode Sanjân, after a town of the same name in their mother-country of Persia. We find, that there were several towns in Persia of the name of Sanjân. In Barbier de Meynard's Dictionary of the geography of Persia, under the head سنجان Sanjân (Sendjân), we find four towns of the name of Sanjân :—(1) A town near the gates of Merw ; (2) a locality in the country of Bab-el-Abwab (Derbend) ; (3) a locality situated near Niçabour (Nishapour) ; and (4) a town in the district of Khawaf (Koraçân).

---

[1] Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ's printed Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, p. 348, couplet 2. Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., p. 179.

Now, as according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, after the fall of their empire at the hands of the Arabs, the Parsees had wandered for about 100 years in the mountainous country of Khorassan, before leaving the shores of Persia, one may say, that it is very likely, that they named their new place of abode, after the town of Sanjân in Khorassan, whose memory was fresh in their mind. The last line of the above passage from Kisseh-i-Sanjân is بسان مُلک ایران گشت معمور *i.e.*, it became prosperous like the country of Irân. This leads us to say, that it is probable, that the new town derived its name at the hand of the Parsees.[2]

III.

Now, we come to the second part of our paper. The *Bombay Gazetteer* says: "In three Silhâra grants of the tenth and eleventh centuries Sanjân is probably referred to under the name of Hanjaman."[3] The writer of the *Gazetteer* does not say, on what grounds, he bases his statement. He does not suggest the grounds of probability. I beg to state here some facts, which supply the grounds for that probability.

The three Silhâra grants, referred to by the *Gazetteer*, are the following :—

---

[1] Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par C. Barbier de Meynard, p. 323.

[2] We have a similar instance in the case of the name of the town of Nowsaree. According to the Parsee tradition, the Parsee emigrants there named the town Nao-sâri, *i.e.*, New Sâri, because the climate there resembled that of the town of Sâri in Persia. The *Gazetteer* says that the story that "Navasari got its name from the Parsis is incorrect, as Navsari is shown in Ptolemy's map."* But it is probable, that the Parsees, finding the name of the place similar to that of a town in Persia, persianized it a little.

* Nusaripa. Ptolemæi Geographiæ Libri octo Græco-Latini, á Petro Montano recogniti. (Fol Amsterdam, 1605), p. 168.

[3] XIV., p. 302.

The first grant, found in Thana, is that of the King **Aricésari Dêvarâja** of the Silhâra dynasty in Saka 939 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1018).[1]

The words of the grant, referring to the city of **Hanyamana** as translated by Pandit Râmalochan and communicated by General Carnac, are as follow :—

"The fortunate Aricésari Dêvarâja, Sovereign of the great circle, thus addresses even all who inhabit the city Sri **Sthânaca**, his own kinsmen and others there assembled, princes, counsellors, priests, ministers, superiors, inferiors, subject to his commands, also the lords of districts, the Governors of towns, chiefs of villages, the masters of families, employed or unemployed servants of the King, and his countrymen. Thus he greets all the holy men and others inhabiting the city of Hanyamana."[2]

The second grant referred to by the *Gazetteer*, is that of Chhittarâjadeva, Mahâmaṇḍalésvara of Konkan in Saka 948 (*i.e.*, 1026 A. D.)[3]. The plate of the grant belonged to Mr. Hormusji Cursetji Ashburner, and was found on his family property near Bhandup in about 1836. The donor of the grant is Chhittarâjadeva of the Silâhâra or Silâra dynasty, and the donee is one Âmadevaiya. The field granted "was situated in the village of Noura, now Nowohor, belonging to the *vishaya* or tâlukâ of Shatshashṭhî, the modern Salsette, and included in Shrîsthânaka or Thânâ."[4] The words of the grant, where the town of Hanjaman is referred to, are as follow :—

"The great provincial chief, the illustrious Chittarâjadeva addresses with salutations, worship, and respect all the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of *râshtras* (zillâs), the lords of *vishayas* (tâlukâs), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials, and non-official persons, servants of the king, and *rayats*, likewise the citizens of the town of **Haṁyamana**,[5] belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others as follows . . . ."[6]

---

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. I., p. 357.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 361.

[3] Indian Antiquary, Vol. V., p. 276, Sept. 1876—Article by Dr. Bühler.

[4] *Ibid*, p.277.

[5] The words in the Sanskrit text are **हंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्रभृतींश्च** *Ibid*, p. 278, plate II. A., l. 11.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 280, col. 1.

The third grant[1] is that of the illustrious Mahâmaṇḍalésvara, King Anantadêva, the emperor of Konkan in Saka 1016 (*i.e.*, 1094 A. D.). The donees are " two persons,— the great Minister Sri Bhabhaṇa Sreshṭhi... and his brother."[2] The subject of the grant is the release of the toll duties. The words of the grant are as follow :—

" Illustrious Mahâmaṇḍlésvara king Anantadêva, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers,— both those connected with himself and others, as also all heads of *râshtras*, heads of *vishayas*, heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not, country people, as well as townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes and so forth . . . ."[3]

The translators of these three grants have thrown no light upon the word Hanyamana or Hanjamana. The translators of the first two grants, Pandit Râmalochan and Dr. Bühler, have said nothing about it. The translator of the third grant, Mr. Justice Telang, says about this word: " I do not understand this."[4] Further on he says: " I can say nothing about Hanjamana."[5]

It is probable, that Hanjaman was another name, by which the Parsee town of Sanjân was known by the Hindu rulers and by the people. Two facts are disclosed by the Silhâra grants.

Firstly, the donors address the tenor of their grants in general terms to all the people of the country, to members of the royal family, to their high and low officials, to officials and non-officials, to all their *rayat*, and then make a special reference to the people of the town of Hanjamana. Why were these people not included in the general terms of the address in the general term '*rayat*' ? What was the reason of separately addressing the people of the town of Hanjamana ? Did not the people of that town form a part and parcel of the *rayat* of the donor-princes? The reason seems to be, that the Parsee emigrants, though they were the subjects of the ruling princes, formed a separate community of themselves. They founded and formed, as it were, a separate colony of their people. They were alien foreigners, not only in the matter of their origin and descent, but in their religion. Hence the necessity of addressing them separately as a foreign community.

---

[1] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 33, February 1880—Article by the late Mr. Justice Telang.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 38, col. 2.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 38, col. 1. The words in the text about the town of Hanjamana are हंजमननगर पैारन् (त्रि) वर्गप्रभृतींश्च. *Ibid.*, p. 35, Plate III., l. 10, (l. 72 of the grant).

[4] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 38, n. 45 [5] *Ibid*, p. 44, col. 1.

Secondly, the inhabitants of this town of Hanjamana, which is named separately in the grants, are spoken of in the first grant as "the holy men and others inhabiting the town of Hanjamana." In the second grant, they are spoken of, as "the citizens of the town of Hanjamana belonging to the three (twice-born) castes." In the third grant also, they are spoken of, as "the townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes."

These special terms of reference, and especially the words "the holy men" in the first grant, tend to show that the people of the town belonged to the priestly class. In the second and third grants, the town is spoken of as belonging to " त्रिवर्गी *i.e.*, the three classes." Dr. Bühler, while translating the second grant, translates the word त्रिवर्गी by three castes, and adds the word "twice born" in brackets after the word "three." We are not in a position to know, why he adds this word, but, possibly, he thinks that the reference is to the three castes of Brâhmins, Khshatryas, and the Vaishyas, who, are generally called Dvijas, *i. e.*, the twice-born But we must bear in mind, that the word used in the grants is वर्ग not वर्ण, *i.e.*, class, not caste. Mr. Justice Telang has correctly translated it by the word 'classes'. Again, if the donors meant to refer to the three Hindu castes, there was no special necessity, as we said above, of separating the three Hindu castes of the town of Hanjamana, from the similar three castes in the other parts of the country or from the whole *rayat*.

I think, that the reference here is to the three classes of the priestly class of the Parsees.

In the Avesta, we find the Âthravans (the priestly class corresponding to the Brâhmins) called Thrâyavan.[1] This word is variously translated by different translators. Dastur Edalji Sanjâuâ, Spiegel, Harlez, Darmsteter, Kanga and Tehmuras have translated it in various ways. Anquetil has translated it "Chef pur des trois Ordres," *i.e.*, the "holy chief of three orders." Kânga has translated it ત્રણ પંથવાળો, *i. e.*, of three religious orders. These three classes referred to, are the three grades of the priestly class—(1) the Dasturs, (2) the Mobads, and (3) the Herbads. These are the three grades of the priestly class referred to by the Saddar.[1]

---

[1] [illegible] [illegible] Yasht Khordâd 10; Yasht Beheram 46; Yasht Âbân 86.

This word "thrâyavan" of the Avesta, then, corresponds to the त्रिवर्ग (trivagarg) of the Silhâra copper-plate grants.

Thus, then, the town of Hanjamana seems to have been called the town of three classes, because, perhaps, the Parsee emigrants mostly consisted of the priestly class. We find from the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, that the leader of the emigrants, who went before the ruling prince (Jâdi Rânâ), was a Dastur. We also learn from it, that the prince, before allotting any land to them, liked to know something about their religion, manners, and customs. The Dastur explained these to the prince in Sanskrit. A description of this explanation is preserved among the Parsees, in the form of Sanskrit *shlokas*. From this, and from the description, given by the Dastur, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, it appears, that the Dastur's narrative of some of their beliefs and observances may have led the king to think, that they all belonged to the sacerdotal class.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that the king and his successors took all the Parsee colonists to be of the priestly class. Hence, their town is referred to, as the town of the three grades (classes), in which the priestly class of the Parsees is divided. Again, the final reply of the Hindoo prince shows, that he was pleased with the new-comers as belonging to a holy class of foreigners. He thus blesses them according to the *shlokas* :—

"O Parsees! May God grant you a progeny of children. May He grant you success and victory. May the immortal Fire grant you victory. May you be free from sins. May you always be holy. May the Sun be auspicious to you for ever. Always revere the

---

[1] S. B. E. XXIV., West, Ch. XCIX, 3.

Sun. May your desires be fulfilled. Take whatever land you desire in my country. May your respect and honour increase. O Parsees! if any ignorant people will look at you (with an idea to injure you), I will smite them. May you be successful over them. May riches be your lot."[1]

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, the prince took great interest in their spiritual welfare and even helped them to erect a fire-temple, wherein he also gave some offering.

Now, the question arises, if, by the word Hanjamana, the Silhâra grants, referred to the new Parsee town of Sanjân, as pointed out by the *Gazetteer*, why was the town so called? What does it signify? Hanjamana 𐬵𐬀𐬥𐬘𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬥𐬀 is an Avestaic word, meaning "an assembly." It comes from Avesta 𐬵𐬀𐬥 "*han*," Sanskrit सन or सह, Lat. con, Gr. syn, meaning together, and 𐬘𐬀𐬨 *jam*, Sanskrit गम to go. The literal meaning would be, "a place where people go together, *i.e.*, meet." If the word could be rendered into Sanskrit, its equivalent would be सम गम or संगम, *i.e.*, a place of junction or meeting. It is now used in the sense of "assembly." How are we then to account for the two names, Hanjamana and Sanjân? We can account for it in two ways.

Firstly, the early Parsees may have named their new town Sanjân, and possibly knew it also by the name of Hanjamana, *i. e.*, an assembly, because all the emigrants met there together. The Hindu rulers, instead of calling the new town by its name Sanjân, which was, as it were, an alien name to them, being originally the name of a town in Persia, chose to know it by its second name, which pointed out its purpose, and the meaning of which they could easily understand, the word being similar to a corresponding Sanskrit word.

---

[1] Translated from a Gujarati version of the Slokas belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwâlâ. For all the 16 slokas, *vide* Dastur Aspandyârjee Kamdin's કદીમ તારીખ પારશીઓની કસર (1826), pp. 129—146.

Secondly, the similarity of the two names, Hanjamana and Sanjân, suggests the idea, that possibly Hanjamana and Sanjân may be one and the same name. Hanjamana was the original name, given to the new town by the Parsees, and Sanjân was its later corrupted or Sanskritised form. The Avesta 'h' becomes 's' in Sanskrit, as in the case of the Avesta Hapta Hindu, which has become Sapta Sindhu in Sanskrit. So Sanjân may be the later Sanskritised form of Hanjamana, which would be at first Sangama in Sanskrit. But then, one would point to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, saying, that according to that book, it was the early Parsees, who themselves gave the name of Sanjân to that town. But, we can explain that fact by saying, that the book, though written on the authority of oral traditions, was written as late as 1600 A.D., *i.e.*, about 900 years after the event. So the writer, instead of giving the original name of the town, as given by the early Parsees, gave the name, by which the town was known in his time.

APPENDIX.

There is one other Arab Geographer who also refers to one Sindân. It is Albiruni.[1] The passage referring to this town, as translated by Elliot, runs thus:

"After traversing the gulf you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawârij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Baira. Their cities are Kach and Somnât. From Debal to Tûlîshar is fifty parasangs; to Loharânî, twelve; to Baka, twelve; to Kach, the country producing gum, and bârdrûd (river Bhader), six; to Somnât, fourteen; to Kambâya, thirty; to Asâwal, two days' journey; to Bahruj, thirty; to Sindân, fifty; to Sufârâ, six; to Tâna, five."

Prof. Dowson, the editor of Elliot's History, identifies the Bahruj of Albiruni with Broach, and says[2] "Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindân fifty parasangs[3] and from Sindân to Sufârâ six parasangs. Abû-l Fida says that Sindân was the last city of Guzerât, and the first of Manibâr (Malabâr), three days' journey from Tâna. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindân the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a half from the sea, and the modern Damân is probably its present representative. Subârâ was similarly situated at the same distance from the sea and finds a likely successor in Surat."

---

[1] Elliot's History of India, I., pp. 65—66, Albiruni's Text by Sachau, p. 102, l. 12.

[2] Elliot, I., pp. 402-3.

[3] A parasang (or farsang) varies from 2½ miles to 4 miles in different countries. Ousley and Kinneir take it to be 3¾ miles. Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 400, n. 1.

We see here, that Prof. Dowson tries to identify Sindân with Damân and Subârâ with Surat. The great dissimilarity in names suggests, that this identification is not correct. The distance of Sindân from Broach as given here is [50 (Sindân)—30 (Bahruj) = 20 days' journey, *i. e.*] about 600 miles. Again Prof. Dowson is wrong in inferring, that Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindân fifty parasangs. Albiruni speaks of the distance of Sindân from Debal (and not from Broach) as fifty days' journey.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh.

◆

[*Read 1st August 1901. Mr. James MacDonald in the Chair.*]

◆

With reference to a man's actions in this world and his rewards and punishments in the other, there is in Parsee Books, what the Rev. Dr. Cheyne calls in his Bampton Lectures of 1889, "a very noble allegory." He says:—"There can be but one opinion, among those who have thus perused the Gathas, that, in the midst of a world, almost wholly given up to a gross material eschatology, this ancient Irânian prophet declared the true rewards and punishments to be spiritual. His teaching is based on a distinction, which to the Jews came much later, between the material or bodily life and the mental or spiritual, the latter of which connects us with 'those veritably real (eternal) worlds where dwells Ahura.' (Yasna XLIII. 3.) This distinction did not pass away with Zarathustra; it pervades the Avesta . . . In short, heaven and hell are not primarily the localities appointed for souls after death; the one is 'life,' 'the best mental state,' the other is 'life's absence,' 'the worst life'—a high doctrine which is embodied in a very noble allegory in the Vendîdâd . . . . Conscience, in fact, according to the fine allegory, appears to the soul of the deceased man, and conducts it to its place."[1]

What is this noble allegory? According to the Parsee Books, at the dawn of the third night after death, the soul of a deceased person sees before him, a picture of his own deeds and actions in this world. If he is a religious man, he sees a picture of his deeds in the form of a handsome, well-formed, strong damsel. If he is a sinful man, he sees before him, a picture of his deeds in the form of an ugly, ill-formed, weak woman. The former, *i.e.*, the handsome damsel, speaks words of praise, welcomes the soul and presents itself as his own picture. The latter, *i.e.*, the ugly woman, taunts the soul for not having done his duty while in the world.

---

[1] The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter, by Rev. Dr. Cheyne, 1891, pp. 398, 399. (The Bampton Lectures, 1889.)

For a poetic description of this beautiful allegory, I would refer my readers to a short paper, entitled "Outre-Tombe—A Zoroastrian Idyll," by Rev. Dr. Casartelli of St. Bede's College, Manchester, in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.[1]

Some think, that this allegory had "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial Huris (Haug)." "But at any rate," says Dr. Cheyne, "this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies."[2] Several Parsee writings refer to this allegory. They are the Vendidad (XIX., 27-32), the Vishtâsp Yasht (VIII; 53-64), the Hâdôkht Nask (chaps. II. and III.), the Virâf-nâmeh (chaps. IV. and XVII.), the Minokherad (chaps. II., 123-194), and the Dâdistân-i-Dini (chaps. XX. and XXI.). I beg to draw attention to-day, to another writing, wherein the subject of the allegory is described, and that, in a rather different and amplified way. The book I propose referring to is the Bundehesh.

Of all the Pahlavi books, there is no book so often referred to, and so often translated, as the Bundehesh. It was first translated by Anquetil du Perron in French in 1771. Dr. Windischmann translated it into German in 1803. In 1868 Dr. Ferdinand Justi translated it for a second time into German. Dr. West, the best Pahlavi scholar now known, translated it in 1880 into English in the fifth volume of Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East. In 1818 it was translated into Gujarati by Dastur Edaljee Dârâbjee Jâmâsp-âsânâ; but as Dr. West says, that translation was more a paraphrase than a translation. I beg to take this opportunity to present to the library of our Society, a copy of my Gujarâti transliteration and translation with notes, just published. It is the first complete translation of the Bundehesh in Gujarati.

---

[1] The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Essays in Irânian literature written by various scholars and edited by Jivanj Jamshedji Modi, B.A., 1900, pp. 74-78.

[2] The origin of the Psalter, p. 437.

The texts, which all these translators have followed, and which Dr. West has described at some length, do not contain the chapter which refers to the above allegory about the future of the soul. So, through the medium of the Journal of our Society, I beg to place, for the first time, before Irânian scholars, the text and translation of this chapter. Dr. West, though he has not translated the chapter, has drawn the attention of students to a copy of "the more extensive text"[1] of the Bundehesh which contains this and several other chapters. He has named this text TD, as it belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. At the time when Dr. West wrote, that was the only "more extensive text" known. But in 1899, Dastur Kaikobâd Âdarbâd of Poona, in the preface to his "Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht" drew attention to another "extensive text" of the Bundehesh in the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona. This text, which I have named DH, from the name of its owner Dastur Hoshang, is not as complete as TD, some of its folios, in the middle of the book, being missing, but it is older than TD. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchâyet, on the recommendation of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Committee, at one time thought of printing this older text DH, by the photo-zinco process, at Poona, but gave up the idea, as some of its folios are wanting. They have now begun printing the later but more complete text TD. I would refer my readers to my introduction (p. LXXIII.) to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, for a genealogy of the writers of these two old manuscripts.

For the text of my translation of the hitherto untranslated chapter referred to above, I follow the text of DH. I have given collations, here and there, from a copy of the TD, kindly lent to me by its owner. I take this opportunity of offering my best thanks to Dastur Hoshangji and to Mr. Tehmuras for kindly allowing me the use of their valuable manuscripts.

On the subject of "the much more extensive text" of TD—and what applies to TD applies to DH also.—Dr. West says, "Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text as it stood originally, or merely of an after-recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined."[2]

---

[1] S. B. E., Vol. V., Introduction p. XXXII.

[2] S. B. E., V., Introduction XXXVIII.

From the contents of this new chapter, which I have translated, I am inclined to believe, that the much more extensive texts of TD and DH, are not copies of the text as it originally stood, but are copies of "an after-recension of the work."

I have two reasons to believe so. Firstly, take the case of the allegory above referred to, as presented in this new chapter. While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before his soul, after death, in the form of a damsel, in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented—(1) in the form of a cow (tôrâ-karp), and (2) in the form of a garden (bostân-karp). This is foreign to the old idea of the allegory, as presented by the older Avesta books and other Pahlavi books. So, this is an interpolation by the writers of a later recension of the original Bundehesh. These three different allegories, of the maiden, the cow, and the garden, remind us of "the three bands of the ministering angles" in the Talmudic story above referred to, but they are foreign to the original source of the ancient Avesta book of the Vendidād.[1]

The second fact which induces me to believe, that these "much more extensive texts" are copies of a later recension of the work, and not of the text of the Bundehesh as it originally stood, is the comparison of the number of the chapters of the Bundehesh with the number of the chapters of the Avesta Dâmdâd Nask, of which it seems to be a Pahlavi rendering.

Dastur Eduljee Jâmâsp-âsânâ says, that the Bundehesh was a Pahlavi rendering of an Avesta Nask.[2] Dr. West adduces two proofs to show, that the Dâmdâd Nask is probably the origin of the Bundehesh. Firstly, the similarity between the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, as given in (*a*) the Dinkard, (*b*) Din Vajarkard, and (*c*) the Revâyets,[3] and those of the Bundehesh.

---

[1] The later writer, finding, that in the Talmudic story, the soul of the pious man was met, one after another, by three bands of ministering angels, perhaps, thought it advisable to improve upon the one old allegory of the damsel and added, one after another, two more,—one, that of a handsome cow, and the other, that of a beautiful garden.

[2] Preface to his Bundehesh, pp. 4-5.

[3] For the originals of the Pahlavi and Persian passages, *vide* my Gujarati transliteration, translation and notes of the Bundehesh (1901), Introduction, pp. 11-15.

Secondly, the reference to the Dâmdâd Nask in the Zâdsparam, the contents of which, and in some parts, even the language of which, are similar to those of the Bundehesh.[1]

It seems to me, that the very names of the two books adduce a third proof. The word Bundehesh signifies "origin of the creation." The word Dâmdâd signifies something similar. It means "the giving (dâd) of the creation (dâm)." In the passage[2] of the Dinkard, which gives the contents of the Dâmdâd Nask, we find in the very beginning "Yehabûntan-i-Dâm," as another word for "Dâmdâd." In this other word, we find for the Pahlavi word *dâd*, its Semitic equivalent *Yehabuntan*. In the description of the division of the 21 nasks into three classes, given in the 8th book of the Dinkard, occur the words Deheshnê-i-gêtî dâd (Dahisnô-i-stehdadô, *i.e.*, production of the wordly creation) which, Dr. West thinks, refer to the Dâmdâd Nask, and are "evidently another name for the Dâmdâd."[3] All these similarities of names point to the fact, that the Dâmdâd Nask was the origin of the Bundehesh.

Now we know from the Revâyets and from Din Vajarkard, that the Dâmdâd Nask had 32 chapters.[4] So the Bundehesh, which had Dâmdâd Nask for its origin, must also have 32 chapters. But "the much more extensive text" presents about 42 subjects or chapters. This shows, then, that these more extensive texts are copies of a later recension, and not of the original texts of the Bundehesh, which, following its source, the Dâmdâd Nask, must contain about 32 chapters. As a matter of fact, we know that the shorter texts, hitherto translated by various translators, only contain about 32 or 33 subjects or chapters. So, I am of opinion, that the texts hitherto known and translated before the discovery of TD, and the later discovery of DH, are copies—with the exception of a few interpolated references to the Arabs and to subsequent historic events—of the Bundehesh originally known, and that the much more extensive texts TD, DH and others, are copies of a later recension, in which many chapters were subsequently added.

---

[1] Dr. West says on this point:—"Zâd-sparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from." (S. B. E. V. Introd., p. XLVII.) I beg to differ from Dr. West. Had the Bundehesh been before Zâd-sparam, he would have named that book as his authority, instead of maning the Dâmdâd Nask. But, as he has named the latter book, I think, that the writers of the Bundehesh and Zâdsparam both had a common book, perhaps a summary of the Dâmdâd Nask, before them.

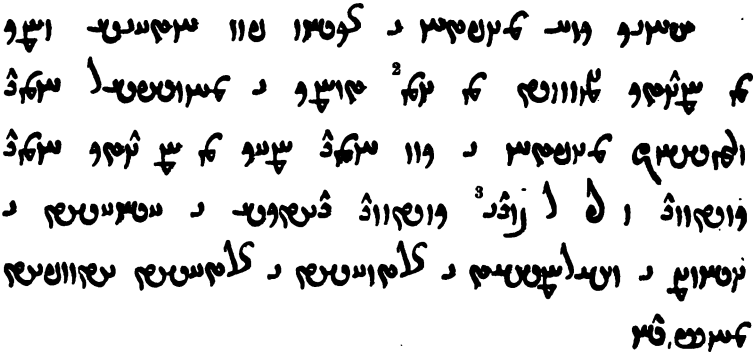
[2] *Vide* the Introduction to my Bundchesh, p. 11, for the passage.

[3] S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII., p. 8, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, ch. I. 16, note 3.

[4] این کتاب سی و دو کرده است Manuscript Revâyet, of the Bombay University Library, Vol. I., Folio 109 A., l. 16. *Vide* also Fragmens relatifs a la Religion de Zoroaster par Mohl et Olshausen, 1829. La second morceau, p. 12., l. 10.

[illegible] Din-i-Vajarkard (from an extract kindly supplied by Dastur Kaikobâd Âderbâd). For the originals of the Persian and Pahlavi passages, *vide* the Introduction to my Bundehesh, pp. 12-13.

I would like to say here a few words on the subject of the name of the original writer and the date of the Bundehesh. In reference to these subjects, I lay stress on the following passage[1] of the Bundehesh (West, ch. XXXIII.).



Translation.

All other priests, who are spoken of in the Khodâî-nâmeh, as belonging to the same family, are of this family of Mânôsh-chêher. Also these Mobads, who are of the present times, call themselves

---

[1] Taken from DH. folio 229 a., line 16.

[2] DH has which is evidently miswritten for and which TD has written correctly.

[3] DH has which is miswritten for and which TD has written correctly.

of the same family, and I also (am of the same family), I (your) servant, whom the people call Dâtakiya (the son) of Asha-Vahishta, (the son) of Goshan Jam, (the son) of Vâhrâm Shâd, (the son) of Zarthusht, which Zarthusht is (the son) of Adarbâd Marespand.

I conclude from this passage, that the Dâtakiya, referred to here, was the author of the original Bundehesh, and he was the 5th in descent from Âdarbâd Marespand, who was the chief Dastur of the Court of Shapur II., who reigned from 309 to 379 A.D. Supposing that Âdarbâd Marespand flourished in the latter half of the period of Shapur's reign,—say, at about 350 A.D.—and calculating 25 years for each generation, we can say, that this Dâtakiya lived at the end of the 5th century (350 + 125 = 475).

Dr. West translates the words 'Dâtakiya-i-Ashavahishta' in the above passage, as "the administrator of perfect rectitude." He then begins a new sentence with the next word "Yudân-Yim." But, on referring to the older manuscripts D.H. and T.D., we find that the words Asha-Vahishta and Yudân-Yim (Goshana Jam) have an "i" (ر) between them. This shows that Asha-Vahishta also is a proper name and the (ر) i between that word and the next word shows the line of descent. In the same way, the ر i between Asha-Vahishta and Dâtakiya shows the line of descent.

So, I think that the Bundehesh was written, at first, at the end of the fifth century. Later on, additions have been made to it from time to time. So, we find allusions to the Arab conquest and even to some subsequent events. Dr. West has referred to these allusions at some length. Dr. Darmesteter, in a paper read before the Jarthôshti-Din-ni-khol-karnâri Mandli[1] in Bombay in 1887, referred to the words *Zing-i-Siâk pôsht* (*i.e.*, the black-skinned negroes) in chapter 23, and said, that the words alluded to the Zangis or the people of Zanzibar. He thought, that it was a reference to an event which occurred in 868 A.D. The people of Zanzibar had settled in the Eastern countries of Irân at the end of the seventh century. In 868 A.D. a chief, named Ali ebn Abdul Rehman said, that he had descended from Ali, and that the Khalifate was due to him. He raised an army of Zanzibar slaves and conquered the

---

[1] *Vide* the Society's Gujarâti Report published in 1891, pp. 248-51.

Persian territories in the east of Irân. It was in 892 A.D. that the Persians finally drove away the Zangbaris from Persia. So, Dr. Darmesteter thought, that the above was an allusion to the Zanzibar people of that time, and placed the latest date of the additions to the Bundehesh, as late as, from 868 to 892 A.D.

At the end of chapter 34, we find the following words in all manuscripts: "Âkhar val Tâzîkân vazlûnt," *i.e.*, "at last (the sovereignty) went to the Arabs." The older manuscripts D. H. and T. D. give the following words instead of the above:—

"Vad zinâkih aiyâft anshakui Tâzikân vad shantichehâr sad chahal-ô-haft-i-Pârsikân. Kun panj bist-o-haft shant-i-Parsik."

I translate this passage as follows:—

"Up to the time the wretched Arabs got the place (of Irân), 447 years of the Parsis. Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis."

I understand the passage to mean as follows:—In the paragraph preceding the one, where this sentence occurs, it is said of Ardeshir Bâbakân and the Sassanians, that they reigned for 460 years. Now the writer means to say, that all these 460 years were not of the rule of the Sassanians. 447 years were of the Sassanian rule and the remaining (460-447) 13 were of the period when Yazdagird was flying here and there after his first defeat.

But the most important part about the latest date of the Bundehesh is the last part, wherein the writer says:— "Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis," *i.e.*, 135 of the Parsis. We know that even after the death of Yazdagird, the Parsis ruled for some time here and there, in the mountainous tracts of Khorâssân and adjoining districts. So the writer means to say that the Parsis ruled here and there for 135 years after Yazdagird. And as he uses the word *kun*, *i.e.*, now, it appears that the date when this part was added to the Bundehesh was 786 A.D. (651 the date of the death of Yezdazard + 135).

With these prefatory remarks, I give the text and translation of the chapter.[1]

---

[1] This chapter is the 37th in order in T. D. as pointed out by Dr. West" under the heading of " On the Chinvad bridge and the souls of the departed.' (S.B.E., V. Intrduction, p. XXXVII.)

Madam Chinvahar va robân i-vadardagân (D H f. 217 a. l. 3).

1. Yemalelûned pavan dîn, aîgh Chekâtî i yak sad gabrâ bûlâî, mîyân-i-gehân, mun Chekât-i-Dâîti karîtnud, gôk[1]-i-tarâzûk Rashna yezato. Tahî[2] pavan bûn-i-kôf-i-Albûrz pavan kôst-i-apâkhtar, va tahi pavan rôêshman kôf-i-Albûrz pavan kôst-i-nîmrôj, mîyân madam zak Chekât-i-Dâîtî yekavîmûnêt.

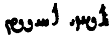
Pavan zak mîyânê zînâk[3] tahi[4]-i-tîz-i-shûpshîr[5] hûmânâk

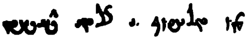
On Chinvahar (bridge) and the souls of the departed.

1. It says in religion, that (the mountain) Chekâtî, which is as high as one hundred persons, (and) is in the middle of the world, (and) which is called Chekât-i-Dâîtî, (is) the place of the balance of the angel Rashna. One end (of the bridge) is at the foot of the mountain of Albûrz on the northern side, and one end on the top of the mountain of Albûrz on the southern side, and its middle part on that Chekât-i-Dâîtî.

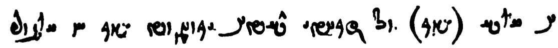
In that middle part, (there is) a place with a sharp edge, which

---

[1] p. قوق plain, ground. T. D. gives . If you read it gôd, it is p. گود low-lying ground. Perhaps it is کوک a dome, cupola. If I read *jard* it is miswritten for yellow. cf. Virâf V., 5 

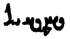


[2] Same as tih p. ته single, bottom or تا single, a unit; end, point. cf. Pahlavi Vendidâd XIX., 30. Spiegel, p. 217, l. 21.



i.e., It has two ends, one is in the Chekât-i-Dâîtî and one on the Alburz: cf. Dâdistân-i-Dînîk, question XIX., S. B. E. West Pahl. texts, II., chap, XX., 4. The word can also be read tâb. p. تاب دادن to sharpen, to give an edge. In the Dadistân the word is written tîg P. تیغ point of a spear.

[3] T. D. Zinâkî. [4] T. D. omits.

[5] T. D. has  arb. سیف (pl. سیوف) a sword, scimitar. The writer of D. H. seems to be doubtful about this word Shûpshîr, because he writes in Persian, below the word, با م (bâ mim), *i. e.*, he asks the reader to read the word with "m" instead of "p" shûmshîr instead of shûpshir.

yekavîmûnêt,[1] mûnash nuhnîzê darnâê va pehnâê. Va tamman yekavîmûnêt[2] minôyân yazaddân[3] mûn mînôyîikhâ rôbân-i-âhalôbân yôshdâsarend va kalbâ[4]-i-mînôyî pavan rêêshman-i-zak pûhar va dûshakhû azîr i zak puhar.

2. Amat mardûm barâ vadîrend seh lêlyâ rôbân pavan nazdîk-i-tan tamman âîghash rôêshman yehevûnt yetîbûnêt; va zak lêlyâ mûn Vîzarîsh shêdâ va hamkârân kabad ân shap[6] avshân khadîtûnêt, va hamâê pûsht lakhvâr val âtash vâdûnêt i tamman afrûkht yekavîmûnêt. Hanâ râê

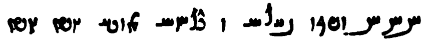
is like a sword, whose length and breadth (are) nine spears; and there are spiritual Yazatas there, who purify pious souls; and spiritual dogs (are) at the head of the bridge; and hell is below that bridge.

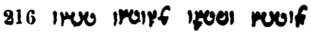
2. When men die, for three nights, the soul rests near the body, at that place, where there was the head; and on those nights, (he) who (is) the demon Vîzarîsh, with (his) co-workers, looks much at them during the night, and always turns his back towards the fire[5] which is

---

[1] In D. H. and T. D. we have "yekavîmûnât yekavîmûnêt," but the word seems to be written twice. T. D. has simply "yekavîmûnêt."

[2] Dadistân ques. XX., S. B. E., XVIII., West, ch. XXI., 5.



[3] cf. Pahlavi Vendidâd XIX., 30. Sp. p. 216  *i.e.*, Which (bridge has) spiritual angels of its own.

[4] Compare this idea of the dogs watching at the gates of Heaven with a similar Vedic thought. "Fear not to pass the guards. The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed." (*Vide* my Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, pp. 9-10).

[5] It is a Parsee custom to keep the fire burning for three nights, in the room, where a dead body is placed before its removal to the Tower.—*Vide* my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees," p. 10. Vendidâd VIII., 79-80.

[6] P. آنشب. This is a repetition, "zak lêlyâ" having been already mentioned a little above. The word can be read "andâz" P. انداز purpose, intention or measure. Then the phrase "kabad andaz" may mean "with great intention" or "several times, repeatedly."

zak seh lêlyâ vad yôm tamman **aighash rôeshman** yehevûnt **âtash pavan afrujashna** yakhsûnd. Va **amat zak âtash** lóît pûsht lakhvâr **val âtash-i-vâharâm ayûp âtashân-i-ham-afrank**[1] hômand vâdûnêt. **Den zak seh lêlyâ** amat kaî **înashna va** vashûpashna val tan **yâmtûnêt** adînash aêtûn dûshkhvâr meyammûnêt chîgûn gabrâî **amatash mân**[2] khefrûnd.

3. Zak seh yôm rôbân pavan **bâlîn** i **tan pavan** zak âhmîd[3] **yetîbûnêt aîgh** yehevûnêt amat **khûn tâpêt** va vât val tan **vazlûnêt**[4] **va** li **lakhvâr** vazlûntan **tôbân** yehevûnât. Va âkhar lêlyâ i seh yôm deu bâmî ât zak rôbân **âhloban** denman yemallûnêt **aîgh**: "neyôk valman mûn min **zak i valman** neyokih katarchâê, **aîgh** li **neyôk azam** har kas **neyôk, avam** Aûharmazd pavan **kâmê** sharîtâîh[5] yehabûnt."[6] **Va ât zak rôban** darvand yemallunet **denman** "Zak tan jân va **karp** mûmash levatman pavan

kindled there. For that reason, during the three nights, up to (the dawn of) the day, the fire is kept burning there, where his head (is lying). And when the fire is not there, he turns his back to the Âtash-Vâhrâm, *i.e.*, to the all glorious fires. During the three nights, when pain and misery come to the body, then as much uneasiness appears to him, as to a man when his house is being dug up.

3. For those three days, the soul sits before the head of the body, in the hope, that it may so happen, that the blood (of the dead body) may be heated and the wind may enter the body[5] and "I may be able to go again (into the body)." And afterwards, on the third night at the dawn, if the soul be pious, it says thus: "He is good from whom goodness (proceeds) to any body else, *i.e.*, (if) I am good every body else will be good through me, Aûharmazd has created me with a free will." And if the soul be

---

[1] P. افرنک dignity, grandeur.

[2] DH has mâni. Mân of TD is better; P. مان Av. [illegible]. It can also be taken in the sense of "family."

[3] For [illegible] p. امید. [4] *i. e.*, the body may be resuscitated.

[5] *Lit.* royal will. *Cf.* Hâdôkht Nask II., 5.

[illegible]

[6] DH yehabûnêt.

dûbârishna, dûbârêt. Homanam[1] âkhar min latamman val aîgh dûbâram."[2]

sinful, it says thus: "That person, whose life and body were together in a state of loitering, loiters. Then, to which place shall I run from here?"

4. Va ât âhloban tîz pavan zak gôbashna vâtî padîrê yâtûnêt i shapîr neyôktar v hubôîtar pîrôjgartar min hamâk vâtân i pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân barâ hûravâkhmînet. Va ât darvand vâti padîrê yâtûnêt gandêtar va pûtêtar a-pîrôjgartar min hamâk vâtân pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân dûshmarîha[3] pîm[4] yâmtunêt.

4. And if (the soul be) pious, immediately with those words, there comes before him a wind, which is better, more excellent, more fragrant, more auspicious than all the winds that are in the world, and which pleases the soul. And if (the soul be) sinful, there comes before him a wind, more stinking and more putrid (and) more inauspicious than all the winds of the world, which brings to the soul a fear of evil recollections.

5. Va âkhar yedrûnd ât zak rôbân val hamâk mûn âhloban mûnach darvand. At âhloban den râs adinash tôrâ-karp val padîrê yâmtûnêt farpîh pûr pim mûn robân azash patîkhûih[5] va

5. Then they carry that soul whether (it belongs) to all who (are) pious or who (are) even sinful. If pious, there comes before him in the way, the figure of a fat and milky cow, from

---

[1] In the sense of [illegible]

[2] Cf. Virâf XVII., 7. [illegible]

[3] Perhaps miswritten for [illegible] unpleasantness. It will then be the opposite of the above hûravâkhminîh.

[4] P. بیم cf. Virâf I. 20. [illegible]

[5] [illegible] This word occours in Mînôkhêrad II., 2., where its Pazend equivalent is [illegible] Neryôsang gives its Sanscrit समृद्धि samriddhi (prosperity, oppulence). It is there used in the sense of prosperity. Avesta [illegible] or [illegible] to nourish, [illegible] nourishment.

charpîh yâmtûnêt. Dud[1] kanîk-karp padîrê yâmtûnêt hû-karp i sapîd vastarg i pânzdah sâlê mûn min hamâk kastî neyôk mûn rôbân patash shâd shayêt.[2] Dûd bôstân karp yâmtûnêt pur-bar pûr-maya pûr-mîvê pûr-patîkhû mûn rôbân hu-ravâkh-mînîh va patîkhu-mînashnîh yâmtûnêt. Aît bûm[3] vahîshtik demman pîsh min hamâr dakhshê pavan gêhân khadîtûnêt.

whom come to the soul, happiness and sweetness. Again, there comes before him the figure of a damsel, who is well-formed, of white clothes, of fifteen years of age, who is good from all sides, (and) with whom the soul is pleased. Again, there comes the figure of a garden, full of leaves, full of water, full of fruits, full of fertility, from whom blissfulness and fertile thoughts come to the soul. It is a paradise-like place, incalculably more (paradise-like) than that of which one sees signs in the world.

6. Aît mûn zak rôbân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt amatash padîrê yehevûnêt. Pûrsêt aîgh "lak mûn hûmanî mûn li aîtûn mayammûnêt? aîghat harvesp khvârih va âsânih." Patash ɛêtûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pasakhun yemallûnd. "Li hûmanam âhlôban Dîn i lak kûnashna[4] ziyat varzît. Amat lak neyôkih kard li lak râĉ latamaman yehevûnt humanam.

6. There are some souls, who, when they meet, ask one another. One asks: "Who art thou, who appeareth thus to me? that is thou art all happiness and ease?" They, one by one, reply to him thus: "Oh righteous man! I am the Din (*i.e.*, religious picture) of thy work, which you performed. When you performed good deeds, I was formed here for thee."

---

[1] *Lit.* another. Here used in the sense of 'secondly, thirdly.'

[2] DH but TD has which is better. P شاد شود، so perhaps sháyôt is from Pazend or it is miswritten for yehavûnêt.

[3] DH but TD

[4] DH has which is a mistake for , which we find in TD, *Cf.* Virâf IV., 23, 24. If we take simply 'kun,' the meaning would be "which you now performed;" but tihs evidently seems to be a mistake.

7. Ât zak rûbân darvand adinash tôrâ-karp val paḍîrê yâmtûnêt khushk va zâr va sahamkîn mûn rôbân khûshk khushkih va zâr charpîh azash yâmtûnêt. Dûd kanîk-karp rasêt sahamkûn dûsh-karp mûnash tar-mînashnîh nehûft yêkavimûnêt min hamâk kôstê sahamkîn mûn robân azash bim va tarsashna yâmtûnêt. Ḍud bôstân-karp yâmtûnêt avî-maya i avî darakht[1] avî-khvârih mûn rôbân dûsh-mînashnîh yamtûnêt. Aît i bûm i dûshakhûîk denman pîsh hamâr dakhshé gûyed.[2]	7. If the soul is sinful, then there comes before him the figure of a cow, without milk, and weak, and frightful, (and) from whom there comes to the soul, dry dryness and weak fatness. Again, there comes the figure of a damsel fearful, ill-formed, who has evil thoughts concealed in her, who is frightful from all directions, and from whom come to the soul, terror and fear. Again, there comes the figure of a garden, waterless, treeless, dreary, from whom there comes to the soul evil thoughts. This is a hellish place, whose (hellish) character is said to be immeasurable.
8. Aît mûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt aîgh "lak mûn hûmanî? min lak hanâktar pavan gêtîh lâ khadîtûnt." Pasakhun val valman yemalelund âîgh "âî darvand li din i lak munat nafshman kûnashna humanam. Amat lak zak i sarîtar varzît latamman lak râê yehevûnt humanam. Âî[3] paêtâk âîgh kolâ aîsh kunashnih i nafshman padîrê yehevûnêt.	8. There are those (souls) who ask one another: "Who art thou? A more harmful (person) than thee is not seen in the world." They say in reply to that: "O sinful! I am thy religion, who (*i.e.*, I) am thy own work. When you performed what was evil, I was formed here for thee;" that is to say, it is clear that one's own actions come before him.

---

[1] [illegible] miswritten for [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Zend Pah. Glossary, p. 33, l. 2. If read javîd, the meaning would be "Its characteristic is quite of a different kind beyond measure."

[3] DH gives [illegible] but TD correctly [illegible]

9. Âkhar zak rôbân râînênd bûn i kôf i Albûrz aîgh tîgach i gôk[1] madam zak sâtûnêt vad bâlist i Chekât aîgh zak tîgi tiz yekavîmûnêt. Âtarô i Farbag i pîrôjgar târikîh barâ zanêt va pavan âtash karp zak rôbân pavan zak tîg vaḍârêd. Avash zakmînôyân yazadân yôshdâsrênd mînĉihjâ pavan gok[2] i dadigar vadârêt vad val bâlist i Albûrz. Avash vâêshapîr yadman madam vakhdûnêt val jînâk i nafshman yedrûnêt chegûn zek amat rôbân makadlûnêt va tamman avaspârêt. Tanach amat pavan gêtih yôshdâsrênd pavan zak angôshîdê mînôyîk.

9. Then they carry that soul to the foot of the mountain Albûrz, where it walks over it up to the very edge of the hill, up to the top of the Chekât where the edge is very sharp. The auspicious fire Farbag smites the darkness and that soul passes over the edge in the form of fire. Those spiritual *yazads* purify it, and it goes spiritually to another summit, up to the very summit of Albûrz. The Good Wind catches hold of his hand, carries it to its own place, as the soul would like, and there it entrusts it (to the heavenly beings). In the same way, as that, in which they purified the body in the world (they purify it) spiritually.

10. Ât zak rôbân darvand amat pavan gôk madam val i Chekât yâtûnêt zak tîg i tîz pavan ham tîgi barâ yekavîmûnêt va vaḍarg dâ yehabûnêt va avash a-kâmagîhâ madam ham-tig sûtûntan âvâyêt pavan seh gâm i farâz khanakhtûnêt i aêt dûshmata dûshhûkhta dushhvarshta zîash varzît yekavîmûnêt. Farut bardanêt min rêêshman i puhar

10. If that soul is sinful, when it comes from the hill up to the Chekât that sharp edge continues to be of the same sharpness and does not give a passage; and it is forced against its will to walk over the same edge, with three steps, which it places forward and which are evil thoughts, evil words (and) evil actions which it had performed,

---

[1] [illegible] P. کوک a dome. In the sense of a hill. If we read "tîgchîgûk" it may mean the "edge of a knife"; P. چیقو or چاقو. The Revâyets speak of "knives" in these matters. TD$_2$ has [illegible]. Perhaps it is miswritten for [illegible] Chinvad.

[2] TD$_2$ has [illegible] Then it would mean, "It passes on with goodness."

It sar-negûn val dûshakhû aûftêt va khadîtûnêt kolâ hanâkîh.	retires below from the top of the bridge, (and) falls headlong into the hell, and sees all kinds of harm.
11. Denmanach yemalelunêt aîgh mûn pavan râḍih âhlôban yehavûnt yekavîmûnêt, amatash zak vât val paḍîrê rasêt, den zak vât kanîk karp khaditûnêt, zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Avash zak kanîk pavan râs-numâîh val saratî[1] yedrûnêt mûnash seh pâyak patash va pavan zak sarat val garûtmân vazlûnêt pavan seh gâm i aît[2] hûmata, hûkhata hûvarshta. Nazdest gâm vad val setar.pâyak, daḍîgar vad val mâhi-pâyak, sehḍîgar vad val khûrshîd-payâk âîgh garûtmân i rôshan.	11. It is likewise said, that he, who has become righteous by his generosity, when that wind comes before him, sees in that wind, the form of a damsel (and) puts him that question. That damsel takes him under her guidance, to a pleasant locality which has three grades over it and by that pleasant locality takes him to the paradise, by three steps, which are good thoughts, good words and good actions. The first step is up to the Setar-pâyak (*i.e.*, star-grade paradise), the second up to the Mâhpâyak (*i. e.*, the moon-grade), the third up to the Khûrshîd-pâyak (*i e.*, the sun-grade), *i.e.*, the brilliant Garûtmân.
12. Ât pavan pûjih darv[3]and yehavûnt yekavimûnêt amatash zak vât padirê yehavûnt den zak vât kanik karp rasêt va	12. If, by his baseness, he has become sinful, when that wind appears before him, the form of a damsel comes in that wind and

---

[1] Arabic سرة surrat, the choicest part of a valley. Perhaps it is P. سرط sarat "travelling smoothly along the road" or سراط sirât the straight road. In Korân, a bridge is spoken of as Al sirât, which corresponds to the Chinvat bridge.

[2] DH has [illegible] but TD has correctly [illegible]. In the corresponding sentence in para. 10 also, we have [illegible]

[3] P. پوچ vile, base, trifling. From the context it appears to be opposed to [illegible] radih, generosity.

zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Aît kûnashna tîg i tîz hûmânâk varḍêḍ mûn hamâk tîg i tîz. Val zak robân yemulelûnêt âîgh "darvand amatat kâmê va amatat al kâmê. Madam denman pavan gâm sâtûntan avâyet." Adin rôbân yemalelûnêt âîgh âtam pavan kardô i kabad tîgi borîn shapîr mayammûnêt aîgh pavan gâm madam denman sâtûnam Daḍigar hamâînînê yemalelûnêt. Rôbân pasakhun yemalelunêt aîgh âtam pavan tîr barâ makhitûnî shapîr mayammûnî aîgh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam. Seḍigar hamâînînê yemalelûnêt. Valman pasakhun. yemalelûnêt aîgh âtam khayâ min tan barâ makhîtûni shapîr-mayammûnî aîgh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam.

makes that inquiry. She is (a picture of his) actions, like a sharp sword which moves about like all sharp swords. She says to that soul : " O sinful ! what is your desire ? What is not your desire ? You shall have to walk on this with your steps." Then the soul says : "If you will cut me, with a very sharp knife, it will appear better than that I should walk on this (sharp edge) with steps. For the second time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. The soul says in reply : "If you will kill me with an arrow, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this. For the third time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. It says in reply : "If you cut off (my) soul from (my) body, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this."

13. Adîn[1] ât[2] zak kûnashna dad i sahamgûn i lâ dastmôk hûmânâk yehavûnet lavîn i rôbân barâ yekavîmûnêt. Zak rôbân avîn tarsêt aîgh madam zak pavan gâm sâtunêt va pavan seh gâm farût bardanêt val dûshakhû aûftêt. Munash vanâs va kerfê

13. Then that (picture of one's) deeds becomes like a frightful untamed wild beast (and) stands before the soul. The soul is so much frightened with it, that it walks over this (narrow path) with steps and retires down below with three steps and falls

---

[1] [illegible] This word is not found in TD, but found in TD_2 and DH. Miswritten for [illegible] akin 'then.' Perhaps miswritten for [illegible] 'at once,' which is sometimes interpreted by اکنون 'now' (Pahl. Paz. Glossary, p. 51).

[2] This word has been subsequently added in DH. It not wanted The meaning can be complete without it.

kolâ dô râst adînash val hamîstêgân yehabûnd. Hamîstêgân râê yemalelunêt aîgh jînâki chegûn gêtî hûmânûk. Kolâ aîsh pavan zak pâyak zîshân kerphê va jînâk yehabûnd yetîbûnand[1].

into the hell. Those, whose sins and righteous acts are both equal, are then given into the Hamîstêgân. It is said of the Hamîstêgân, that it is a place like the world. All persons sit in that grade, which is assigned according to his righteousness and position.

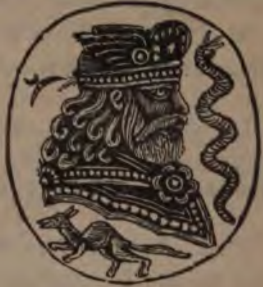
---

[1] TD has the whole sentence thus [illegible] i. e. All persons are given a place according to their righteousness.

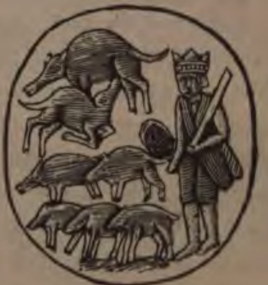
A New Medal of King Behrâm Gour.

[*Read, 15th March* 1900. *Dr. J. Gerson DaCunha, in the Chair.*]

The subjoined Medal belongs to Mr. J. H. Robinson of Bombay. It is a bronze coin weighing 4 tolas and 42 grains. According to the owner it was found in Persia.



On the obverse, we find the bust of a king, turned to the right. The head bears a crown surmounted with a globe. The hair of the head falls on the neck behind in curls. It carries in the neck a string of jewels and a star-like jewel a little above the string and just below the beard. Just behind the bust, there is a crescent with a globe or a little star on its convex part. In the front of the bust to the right, there is a dragon with its mouth opened to the right. Below the bust, there is an animal. The position of its four feet and its tail shows, that it is running away in full speed.



On the reverse, we find the figure of a young man, rather a boy, with his face turned to the left. He wears a crown or a crown-like cap with three points. The crown or the cap either carries a string or strap of jewels or is embroidered with jewels. The hair appear from under the crown or cap tied in a bundle. He carries a dagger-like instrument suspended from a belt (not visible) on his waist. He carries, in his left hand, a club-like weapon, which rests on his left shoulder. A strap or a strap-like string is hanging in the front from his neck. which supports something, perhaps a bow (not visible), on the back. By the side of the dagger-like instrument, hangs a bag which is probably a quiver of arrows, which are not visible, being supported on the back. In the front of the young man or boy are several animals, all turned to the left and arranged in three rows, one above the other. In the top-most row, there is an animal (a female) with a young one fallen on its two knees and sucking her breast. In the second row, there are two animals, one going after the other. In the third row, there are three animals. The position of the feet and the tails of the animals shows, that they are not standing, but are in a state of motion, though not running fast. There is something like a stone, nearly three-fourths round, lying in the front of the young man and below the first row of the animals. It is difficult to say, what it is.

The medal bears no inscription So, we have to depend upon the features, &c., of the figure and upon its accompaniments, to determine what the medal is, and to whom it belongs.

First of all the features of the face, the head-dress, the curl of the hair, the conventional globe, all these lead us to determine, that it is a Persian medal of one of the Sassanian kings. Then the position of the crescent with the globe and the star below the beard, leads us to say, that it is a medal of Behrâm Gour or Behrâm V. A comparison with medal No. 51 of Plate VIII. 6 of Longpériér's *Essai sur les Medailles des Rois Perses de la Dynastie Sassanide* (p. 58), helps us to determine the fact. In our medal, too, the crescent and the globe are behind the head of the figure, but there is this difference, that while in the medal, described by Longpériér, the globe is in the concave part of the crescent, in ours, it is in the convex part. In Longpériér's medal, besides the conventional globe over the head, there is another moon-like globe in the front of one of the three points of the crown. We do not find that globe in the obverse of our medal, but instead of that, we find a globe in the reverse. The form of the crown of the figure on Longpériér's medal is similar to that on the head of the young man on the reverse of our medal. Both have crowns with three points

Now let us see, if the animals on the obverse and reverse point to any episodes in the career of Behrâm Gour. First, let us take the figure of the dragon. There are two adventures, in which, according to Firdousi, Behrâm Gour's name is connected with a dragon. The first is described as follows: (Mohl. V., p. 609.)

Once upon a time, Behrâm Gour went a-hunting with his courtiers on the frontiers of Turân. Onagers, wild rams, and antelopes were the animals that they hunted. They passed two days in hunting. On the third day, the king came across a dragon, that was brave like a lion. It had hair all over its body and over its head. It had two breasts over its body like a woman. The king aimed at it two arrows, one of which struck its breast, and the other its head. The dragon was killed on the spot, and blood and poison began to flow from its body. The king got down from the horse and cut open the breast of the dragon with his dagger. He found out, that it had swallowed a young man. He wept over the fate of the young man, and the poison of the snake dimmed his eyes. He wandered thus in a state of confusion, seeking for water and a place for rest. He found his way to an inhabited place, and came to a house, where he saw a woman carrying a pitcher of water over her shoulders. He asked for hospitality and the woman gracefully accorded it.

The seat of king Behrâm Gour's second adventure with a dragon was India. His Vazir once excited his ambition to conquer India, then ruled over by a king called Shangel. Behrâm thereupon asked a friendly but threatening letter to be written to the Indian king, asking him either to send tribute to Persia, or, to be prepared for war. He then resolved upon carrying the letter personally, and went to India with a few confidential officers, under the pretence of going a-hunting. He was received by the Indian king with all honours due to a messenger of the king of Persia. On hearing the message, he indignantly refused to pay any tribute to Persia. Behrâm then had a friendly fight in the presence of the king with one of his best warriors.

The superior strength in the fight and the skill in the art of using the bow, which Behrâm showed, made the king suspect, that the messenger (Behrâm) was not an ordinary courtier of the court of Persia, but a man of royal blood. He asked his minister to persuade Behrâm to postpone his departure for some time, and stay a little longer at Kanoj, where, he said, the fruit trees gave two crops every year. The Vazir tried to win Behrâm over to the side of the Indian king, and persuaded him to make Kanoj his permanent residence. Behrâm refused, and so, the king tried to do away with this powerful Persian messenger, by asking him to kill a ferocious wolf and a dragon in the vicinity of his city.[1]

The fight of Behrâm Gour with the above-mentioned dragon in India is thus described by Firdousi: "The Indian king in a private conference with his confidential courtiers, said, 'If this messenger would remain with me in my court, he would be a pillar of strength to me, but if he were to return to Persia, as he insists upon doing, he, with his valiant master Behrâm, would be a source of terror to me and my country. So I have thought of a new device to do away with him. I will send him to fight with the dragon, which causes such terror in our neighbourhood, and I am sure he will be killed in the fight.' He then sent for the Persian messenger (Behrâm Gour) and requested him to free Hindustân from the terror of that dragon, which at times lived in water, and at times on land, and at times killed brave elephants. He told him, that if he killed that dragon, he would agree to pay tribute to Persia and allow him to return to his native country. The messenger (Behrâm Gour) accepted the request, went to the abode of the dragon and killed it."

Now the question is, which of these two adventures of king Behrâm with the dragons is depicted on the medal. The animal below the effigy of the king leads us to say, that it is the second adventure.

According to Firdousi, the Indian king, before sending Behrâm Gour to fight with the dragon, sent him to fight with a ferocious wolf, which caused terror in his neighbourhood. It was an extraordinary wolf, which was more than a match even for lions. Behrâm went to the forest, where the wolf had its abode, fought with it courageously, and killed it with his bow and arrow. Thus the animal on the medal seems to be the wolf killed by Behrâm, a short time before he killed the dragon in India. (Mohl. VI., pp. 36-44.)

---

[1] *Vide* my paper on "The Bas-Relief of Behrâm Gour at Nakshi-Rustam" before the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LI.

Now, coming to the device on the reverse of the medal, I think that the scene depicted there, is one of the chase-scenes of king Behrâm Gour. We know, that Behrâm V. was called Gour, on account of his extraordinary fondness for chasing onagers. Out of the several stories attributed to him by Firdousi, the following seems to point to the scene, depicted on our medal : (Mohl. V., pp. 664-668.)

One day, the king went a-hunting with his courtiers and showed them his dexterity in arrow-shooting in various ways. He came across a she-onager. In front of her, ran her young one, all fatigued. Behrâm struck her with his sword and cut her into two pieces. All his officers admired his dexterous blow and praised him.

It seems, that the animal with a young one at her breast, at depicted in the scene, on the reverse of the medal, is the she-onager in the chase scene above referred to. As the feat above referred to, was performed with a sword, we see the king on the medal with a sword-like instrument in his hand.

One may be tempted to say, that this scene on the reverse of the medal is like that of a shepherd and his flock. It looks like it at first view, the animals looking like cows. But then, it is clear, that the young man on the right is not a shepherd-boy. He wears a crown on his head which clearly shows, that he is a prince. Again, he carries a war-like instrument in his hand, and a dagger is hanging at his side. Again, there is something suspended from his neck. This looks like a piece of string supporting his quiver, which appears to be hanging by the side of his dagger. All these are not the requisites of a shepherd. They clearly show, that the young man is a prince and warrior.

The above chase-scene, as described by Firdousi, is attributed to the king in his grown-up age, when he had established himself upon the throne. But the scene on the medal represents the youth as a boy-prince. It may be, that it is one of the chase-scenes of the time, when Behrâm Gour lived in Arabia under the tutelage of Moudhir, the king of Arabia. Several chase-scenes of Arabia are referred to by Firdousi. It is possible, that Firdousi may have transferred some of them to a later period in the life-time of the king.

References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees.[1]

[*Read,* 13*th July* 1903. *Mr. James MacDonald in the chair.*]

Prof. Douglas, in his article on China in the latest edition of "The Encyclopædia Britannica,"[2] says:

"The spacious seat of ancient civilization, which we call China, has loomed always so large to Western eyes, and has, in spite of the distance, subtended so large an angle of vision, that, at eras far apart, we find it to have been distinguished by different appellations, according as it was reached by the southern sea-route, or by the northern land-route transversing the longitude of Asia.

"In the former aspect the name has nearly always been some form of the name Sin, Chin, Sinæ, China. . . . ."

Prof. Douglas then mentions supposed references in Sanscrit and Jewish books to the above names. He makes no reference to the Avesta in the matter, probably because Iranian scholars have not collected sufficient materials about it. The object of this paper is to collect the references to China in the ancient books of the Parsees.

I.

The Farvardin Yasht refers to China, and it speaks of it, as Sâini, a name resembling Sin or Sinæ, referred to by Prof. Douglas as an old name of China. It contains a list of the pious departed worthies of ancient Irân before the Sassanian times. As the late Professor Darmesteter said, the list is "un catalogue d'Homère du Mazdéisme."[3] It is the most ancient "list of canonization" among the ancient Irânians. At first, some of the worthies of ancient Irân are individually named and commemorated, and then at the end, all the pious worthies of the five countries of the then known world are remembered in general terms, because, as said by Gogoshasp, a commentator of the Vendidâd, it was not Irân alone that was believed to contain pious holy men. Gogoshasp said:

---

[1] This paper was, at first, read before the International Congress, held at Hanoi in December 1902. (*Vide* "Compte Rendu Analytique des séances, Premier Congrès International des Etudes D'Extrême-Orient Hanoi (1902)," published in 1903, pp. 76-77). I beg to express my best thanks to Principal MacMillan for having kindly read my paper at the Congress.

[2] Vol. V., p. 626.

[3] Le Zend-Avesta, II., p. 504.

"Ái dayan kolâ dâd âi mardum âhlõbanghân yehavunêt meman min 'Tuiryanâm dakhyunâm' paetâk,"

i. e., In every created country there are pious persons, as it appears from the passage, "Tuiryanâm Dakhyunâm, &c."

It is not worthy men alone that are thus honoured, but worthy women also. The countries mentioned, as said above, in the list of the Farvardin Yasht are Airya, Tûirya, Sairima, Sâini and Dâhi.[1]

Airya is the country of Irân; Tûirya is the country of Turkestân; Sairima is the country of Arum (the eastern part of the Roman Empire) or Asia Minor and Western Asia. Dâhi is the Δάϐί of Herodotus and Strabo, and Tahia of the Chinese geographers. It is the country round the Caspian. The remaining country, Sâini, is China.

The passage in the Farvardin Yasht, wherein the departed worthies, both male and female of this country of Sâini (China), are remembered, runs thus:—

"Sâininâm dâkhyunâm narâm ashaônâm fravashayô yazamaidê. Sâininâm dâkhyunâm nâirinâm ashaôninâm fravashayô yazamaidê,"

i.e., "We remember in the ritual, the Fravashis (*i.e.*, the holy spirits) of the pious men of the country of Sâini. We remember in the ritual, the Fravashis of the pious women of the country of Sâini."

The country of Sâini, referred to in the above passage, is variously identified by different scholars. Anquetil Du Perron identifies it with the country of Soanes, referred to by Strabo as situated between the Black and the Caspian Seas. He says: "Les Provinces de Saon ne me paroissent pas différentes du Païs des Soanes, que Strabon (Géograph., L. XI., p. 499) place entre la Mer noire et la Mer Caspienne. Ptolomée (Géograph., L. V., c. 9 et 12) fait mention d'un fleuve nommé Soana, dont les eaux se déchargeoint dans la mer Caspienne, au Nord de l'Albanie."[2] Dr. Spiegel says: "We do not know who the Çânians were."[3] Justi thinks it to be the town of Çân which Persian lexicographers placed in Bactria or Kabulistân. He says: "Besser ist wohl die Stadt Çân herbeizuziehen, welche nach den pers. Lexicographen in Bactrien oder Kabulistan liegt."[1] M. Harlez is doubtful and thinks it may be Caucasus.[2] Dr. West[3] says it is "probably the territory of Samarkand." Dr. Geiger thinks that it is not "a proper name, but rather a generic term" (Civilization of the Eastern Iranians by Dastur Darab, p. 110.) Dr. Windischmann was the first scholar to identify it with China. Justi thinks he is wrong in so identifying it. He says: "Windischmann irrt, wenn er in Çâini den Namen der Chinesen erblickt. (vgl. Göttinger gel Anzeigen 1864, p. 114)."[4] M. Darmesteter[5] supports Windischmann and identifies Sâini with China. I think this identification is correct.

---

[1] Yasht XIII., 143-44.

[2] Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 283, n. 3. [3] Bleek's Translation, Vol. III., p. 101, n. 3.

Three facts lead us to identify this country of Sâini with China:—

1. The above five countries mentioned in the Farvardin Yasht are referred to in the Pahlavi Bundehesh.[6] There this country of Sâini is spoken of as Sini, and to point out what particular country is meant by that name, it is added "Zak i pavan Chinastân," *i.e.*, "that which is in Chinastân." This Chinastân is the country of China.

2. In some Arabic and Persian books, China is spoken of as "Shin." These very names suggest the identity.

3. According to the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi, Faridun had divided among his three sons, Erach, Selam and Tur, the five countries referred to in the Farvardin Yasht.

Firdousi's lines are as follow (Mohl, Vol. I. p. 138, ll. 292—299):—

نخستین بسلم اندرون بنگرید
همه روم و خاور مر اورا گزید
……
دگر تور را داد توران زمین
ورا کرد سالار ترکان و چین
……
پس آنگه نیابت بر ایرج رسید
مر اورا پدر شهر ایران گزید

M. Mohl thus translates these lines:

"Il jeta d'abord les yeux sur Selm, et choisit pour lui Roum et tout l' occident......Puis Feridoun donna à Tour le pays de Touran, et le fit maître du pays des Turcs et de la Chine........... Alors vint le tour d'Iredj, et son père lui donna le pays d'Iran." (*Ibid*, p. 139.)

---

[1] Handbuch der Zend sprache, p. 293. *Vide* the word Çâini.

[2] Le Zend Avesta, p. 505, n. 2. [3] S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XV., 29, n. 3.

[4] Handbuch der Zend sprache, p. 293.

[5] S. B. E., Vol. XXIII., p. 227, n. 1; Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II., p. 554, n. 313

[6] S. B. E. V., Ch. XV., 29.

Now, let us examine the countries named by the Farvardin Yasht, and those named by Firdousi, placing them side by side.

The list of the Farvardin Yasht.	*The list of the Shâh-nâmeh, arranged in the order of the Farvardin Yasht.*
Irân (Airya)	Irân
Turân (Tuirya)	Turân
Sairima (Rum)	Rum
Sâini	Chin
Dâhi	Khâvar

From this list we see that the Irân of the Shâh-nâmeh, given to Iredj (Erach), the Airyava of the Avesta, is the country of Airya or Irân in the Farvardin Yasht. The country (Airya) is said to have derived its very name from this prince Airyava (Iredj). The Turân of the Shâh-nâmeh is the Tuirya (Turân) of the Farvardin Yasht. This country also is said to have derived its name from the prince (Tuirya or Tur) to whom it was given. The Rum of the Shâh-nâmeh is the Sairima of the Farvardin Yasht. The Pahlavi Bundehesh[1] identifies Sairima with Rum (Saram matâ ait i Arum, *i. e.*, the country of Saram, which is Arum). This country also is said to have derived its name from prince Selam to whom it was given. The Khâvar of the Shâh-nâmeh, which together with Rum (Asia Minor) was given to prince Selam, is the Dâhi of the Farvardin Yasht.

Now the only country of the list of the Shâh-nâmeh, which remains to be identified with one in the Farvardin Yasht, is Chin. It, then, is the same as Sâini, the remaining fifth country in the list of the Farvardin Yasht.

II.

As to what country constituted Sâini or China in the ancient literature of different nations, Prof. Douglas says :

"If we fuse into one, the ancient notices of the Seres (one of the appellations of the people of China) and their country, omitting anomalous statements and manifest fables, the result will be something like the following :—

---

[1] S. B. E., V., Ch. XV., 29. *Vide* my Bundehesh p. 66.

"The region of the Seres is a vast and populous country, touching on the east Ocean and the limits of the habitable world, and extending west to Imausl (*i.e.*, the Pamir) and the confines of Bactria."[1]

This is confirmed to a great extent by the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi. Therein, Turân (Turkestân) and Chin (China) are always associated together. At one time, it is the same ruler who rules over Turân and Chin ; at another time, there are different rulers, but the King of Turân is spoken of as Lord Suzerain over the country of Chin. Again we find, that, at times, Chin had independent sovereigns.

Again, it appears from the Shâh-nâmeh, that Chin or China was divided into two parts, Chin and Mâchin. Chin seems to be the region near Turân, or Turkestân, and Mâchin, or the greater Chin, the China of the Further East. Again Turân and Chin are generally spoken of together, because the boundary of one began immediately at the place where that of the other ended. In the wars of Turân against Irân, Chin, *i. e.*, both Chin and Mâchin, generally sided with Turân.

In the half legendary and half historical wars of Afrâsiâb, the king of Turân, with Kaikhosru, the king of Irân, the former, when hard pressed by the latter, looked to his above two neighbours for aid.

Just as Chin or China was known by two names, Chin and Mâchin, so its monarchs also were known by two names, *viz.*, Khâkân and Faghfour. They were two different individuals. The Faghfour was at the head of the administration, and the Khâkân was next to him. At times, one and the same person was spoken of, under both names. When Afrâsiâb, hard pressed by Kaikhosru, seeks aid from Chin, it is the Faghfour that he writes[2] to, and seeks help and support from. On the defeat and capture of Afrâsiâb, the king of Irân asks them to surrender. They both (the Faghfour and the Khâkân) pay homage to the sovereign of Irân.[3]

---

[1] The Encyclopædia Britannica, V., p. 627, Col. 1

[2] یکی نامه نزدیک فغفور چین ∴ نبشتند با صد هزار آفرین

i. e., they wrote a letter to the Faghfour of China with hundred thousand blessings. (Mohl IV., p. 96.)

[3] برفتند فغفور و خاکان چین ∴ برشاه باپوزش و آفرین

i. e., the Faghfour and the Khâkân of China went before the king with excuses and blessings. (Mohl IV, pp. 166-67.)

Kaikhosru went to their country and remained there as their guest for three months.

III.

About the derivation of the name Sin, Sinæ, Chin or China, Prof. Douglas[1] says: "the name of Chin has been supposed (doubtfully) to be derived from the dynasty of *Thsin*, which a little more than two centuries[2] before our era enjoyed a brief but very vigorous existence, uniting all the Chinese provinces under its authority, and extending its conquests far beyond those limits to the south and the west."

A satisfactory settlement of this question of the derivation of the name Sin, Sinæ or Chin, by scholars of Chinese literature, shall be of great interest and importance to Avesta scholars, because that will supply additional evidence to determine the latest date at which the Farvardin Yasht was written. If it can be satisfactorily settled, without the shadow of any doubt, that the country of China derived its name Chin, Sin or Sinæ from the dynasty of Thsin, which flourished 200 years before Christ, then it will lead us to conclude, that the Farvardin Yasht, which contains the name of China as Sâini, must have been written after that date, *i. e.*, after the second century B. C.

On the other hand, a satisfactory settlement of the question of the date of the Farvardin Yasht may lead to a solution of the doubtful question of the derivation of the name of China. As far as the evidence, presented and traced up to now, goes, it appears that, though the Yasht itself as a whole may be older, its "list of canonization" was open up to as late as B. C. 195, because the two personages mentioned therein (Yt. XIII, 115), Erezva Srutô Spâdha and Zrayangha Spento Khratavâo, lived, according to the

---

[1] The Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. V., p. 626.

[2] The exact date of the foundation of this dynasty is 255 B.C. Prof. Douglas says on this point (*Ibid.*, p. 643, Col. 2): —"As the Empire became weakened by internal dissensions, so much the more did the power of the neighbouring states increase. Of these the most important was that of Thsin, on the north-west, which, when it became evident that the kingdom of Chow must fall to pieces, took a prominent part in the wars undertaken by Tsoo on the south and Tsin on the north for the coveted prize. But the struggle was an unequal one. The superiority of Thsin in point of size, and in the number of fighting men at its command, carried all before it, and in 255 B. C. Chaou-seang Wang, having silenced his rivals, possessed himself of the imperial states. Thus fell the Chow dynasty."

Dinkard (Bk. VII. Chap. VII. 8.), about 400 years after the traditional date attributed to the age of Zoroaster.[1] This date depends merely upon the evidence of a later book. If we accept this date, then there is a difference of about 60 years between the date 255 B. C. when China began to be ruled by the Thsin dynasty, from which it derived its name, and B. C. 195, the latest date, determined up to now, when additions were made to the list of canonization of the Farvardin Yasht. This makes it probable, that China may have derived its name from the Thsin dynasty.

But the probability is, that, though new names have been added later on, the Farvardin Yasht, as a whole, was older than the second century. We do not find in it the names of persons like Ardeshir Bâbegân and his Dastur Tansar, who both took an active part in what is called the Irânian Renaissance of the early Sassanian times. Again, we do not find the name of Valkhash of the Pârthian dynasty, who, according to the Dinkard, played a prominent part in reviving the religion. This shows, that the list was closed long before the second century before Christ. It is believed by some, that the theory of Fravashis or Farôhars, which the Yasht treats in its first part, was one, which suggested to Plato his philosophic theory of "Ideas." Now, Plato lived at the end of the fifth century and during the first half of the fourth century before Christ (429-347 B. C.). So, if Plato took his philosophy of "Ideas" from that of the Fravashis in the Farvardin Yasht, the Yasht must have been written prior to the fourth or fifth century before Christ. If so, the fact, that the name of China as Sâini occurs in this old document, throws a doubt on the belief that it was the Thsin dynasty of the third century before Christ that gave its name to China. It appears, therefore, that the name was older than the third century before Christ.

IV.

Coming to the Pahlavi books, we find that, as said above, the Bundehesh refers to the country of Sini, and says that it is

---

[1] Dr. West, S. B. E., XLVII., pp. 83-84. Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter II, p. 504.

Chinistân or China. Again, in the list of mountains given in the Bundehesh,[1] a mountain is spoken of as Kuf-i-Chin, *i. e.*, the mountain of Chin or China. It is said to be on the frontiers of Turkestân.[2] It is not certain which particular mountain is meant.

In the Shâyast lâ Shâyast, we find a reference to the religion of Sin or China. There the religions of different peoples are spoken of and classified, as it were, into three classes.—(1) *veh*, *i. e.*, good; (2) *gomizeh* or mixed, *i. e.*, neither good nor bad; and (3) *vadtar*, *i. e.*, worse.

The passage runs thus—

"Avizeh dâd veh din lenman hômanîm va pôryôtkesh hômanîm va gomizeh dâd Sinik vaskardih hômand va vatar dâd zandik va tarsâk va yahud va avârik i denman sân hômand.[3]"

Dr. West[4] thus translates it—

"Of a pure law (dâd) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are those of the Sinik congregation; of a vile law are the Zandik, the Christian, the Jew and others of this sort." As Prof. Darmesteter has suggested, the Sinik congregation is a reference to the religion of China. The writer calls his Zoroastrian religion a good religion. He condemns other religions as bad. He does not include the Chinese religion among the bad ones, but he calls it a mixed religion, *i. e.*, a religion containing Zoroastrian elements as well as other foreign elements. This brings us to the question of the influence of Zoroastrian religion upon China.

V.

As pointed out by Prof. Jackson,[5] M. Chavannes, in an article entitled "Le Nestorianisme et L'Inscription de Kara—Balgassoun,"[6] quotes several passages from Chinese books referring to

---

[1] Justi Text, p. 22, l.-1. West S. B. E. V., p. 34, Chap. XII, 2. *Vide* my Bundehesh p. 40.

[2] Ibid. Chap. XII., 13.

[3] MS. of Mr. Edalji K. Antia, f. 27 b, l., 11.

[4] S. B. E. V., p. 296. Shâyast lâ Shâyast VI., 7.

[5] Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Irân, p. 279.

[6] Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, pp. 43—85, Janvier-Février, 1897.

Zoroaster and the religion of Persia. These references prove clearly, that the Mazdayaçnân religion of Zoroaster had made its way into China. One of the passages that M. Chavannes quotes on the subject is as follows:— "Autrefois Sou-li-tche (Zarathushtra, Zoroaster), du royaume de Perse, avait institué la religion mo-ni-enne du dieu céleste du feu; un édit impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de Ta-ts' in."

"Pour ce qui est de la religion mo-ni-enne du dieu céleste du feu, autrefois, dans le royaume de Perse il y eut Zoroastre; il mit en vigueur la religion du dieu céleste du feu; ses disciples vinrent faire des conversions en Chine; sous les T'ang, la 5^e année tcheng-koan (631), un de ses sectateurs, le mage Hu-lou vint au palais apporter la religion du dieu céleste; un décret impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de Ta-ts' in."[1]

The work which gives this passage was written between 1269 and 1271 A. D. It says that a Persian temple was established in China in 631 A. D.[2]

Besides the above two passages, which refer to Zoroaster as the founder of the *mo-ni-enne* religion, M. Chavannes gives even other passages, wherein this mo-ni-enne religion is directly or indirectly referred to.

Now, what is this religion named mo-ni-enne? M. Chavannes says, that the religion, generally referred to by the term mo-ni-enne, is the Mussalman or Mahomedan religion. According to this author, in those cases, where it is referred to, as founded by Zoroaster and the Magi, it is the Zoroastrian religion, but the Chinese writer, not being able to draw a line of difference, has used the same word in a wrong sense.

M. Devériâ,[3] on the other hand, affirms, that the religion mo-ni-enne, referred to in the above Chinese passages, is the Manichean religion or the religion founded by Mani, which was an offshoot of the Zoroastrian religion.

---

[1] Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX., p. 61, Janvier-Février, 1897.

[2] We must note, that this is the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, and tradition says, that some of the Zoroastrians of Persia went to China with the son of Yezdejard Sheheriâr, the last king of Persia. (*Vide* Anquetil Du Perron, Zend. Avesta, Tome I., Partie I., p. 336, note.)

[3] Le Journal Asiatique, Vol. X., pp. 445-484, Novembre-Décembre, 1897. Article headed," Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois."

I beg to suggest, that the word "mo-ni-enne" is a corrupted form of "Mazdayaçnân," the appellation, by which the Zoroastrian religion was, and is even now known by its votaries.

It is true, that some of the allusions in the above passages refer to the introduction of the Persian religion in its Manichean form, but, it is possible, that the Manichean religion continued to be known by the name of the older parent religion, of which it was supposed to be an offshoot. Again, it is possible, that, though the religion of Persia, that was known to China in its early times, was the Mazdayaçnân religion, still, by the later authors, it was called Manichean, because the religion of Mani also came to them from Persia.

Among the Chinese passages quoted by M. Chavannes there is the following one, which refers to a king Pirouz III of Persia:—
"Pour ce qui est de l'ancien temple persan à l'est du quartier Li-ts'iuen, la 2ᵉ année i fong (677) Pirouze III, de Perse, demanda à etablir un temple persan. Pendant la periode *chen-long* (705-707), Tsong Tch'ouk'o se vit designer (ce lieu) par le sort pour y faire sa demeure."[1]

With reference to this passage, I beg to draw the attention of Chinese scholars to a Persian book called فیروز نامہ Firouz-nâmeh. It is not printed as yet. I have seen an old manuscript of this book in the possession of Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwâlâ of Bombay. It is a manuscript of 288 folios or 576 pages, having 13 lines to a page. I find the following date at the end:—

آنچہ کہ در کتاب تحریر بود تمام شد نسخہ فیروز نامہ روز ہورمزد
ماہ خورداد تاریخ ۲۴ ربیع الاول سنہ الف یک

i. e., Whatever was written in the book — the manuscript of Firouz-nâmeh — is finished on roz (day) Hormazd mâh (month) Khordad (Hijri) date 24 Rabi-ul-aval 1001.

---

[1] Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, Janvier-Fevrier, 1897, p. 62.

This date shows that the manuscript is more than 300 years old. The date when the original book was written is not known.

Herein, king Firouz is spoken of as Firouz-Shâh, the son of king Dârâb, son of king Bahman, son of king Asfandyâr, son of king Gushtâsp, son of king Lohrasp.[1] Thus this Firouz is said to be the great grandson of Asfandyâr, who is traditionally spoken of by the Parsees, as having gone to China and established several fire-temples there, and was one of the disciples of Zoroaster, referred to, in the above-quoted Chinese book (*supra*, p. 249).

In the commencement of the book, the author of the book is said to be one Skaikh Haji Mahmad, son of Maulana Shaikh, son of Maulana Ali, son of Shaikh Maulana.[2]

In this book the king is spoken of as Khâkân and as Wâng وانگ. We find the latter word in the names of some Chinese kings, such as Wei-lee-Wang and Chaou Seang Wang. This Chinese king is hostile to Firouz and the Irânians, and is therefore given the abusive epithet of harâm zâdeh حرامزاده *i. e.*, born of illegitimate connection.

It appears from the Pahlavi epistles of Mânuscheher, that in the ninth century, China was considered to be the furthest place to which one could go to from Persia, to avoid domestic anxieties or troubles. Mânuscheher was the head priest of the Zoroastrians of Persia, especially of the country of Pârs and Kirman, in the third century of Yazdajard (ninth century A. D.). He had a brother named Zâd-sparam, who was the head priest of the Zoroastrians at Sarakhs in the north-east of Khorasan.[3] This brother was transferred to Sirkan, where he issued some new decrees about the purification ceremony, which were not in accord with the previous injunctions on the subject. These new ideas were considered to be heretical, and he was believed to have taken them from the Tughazghuz[1] when he was staying at Sarakhs.

---

[1] فیروز شا بن ملک داراب بن ملک بهمن بن شا اسفندیار بن شاه گشتاسپ بن شاه لهوراسپ

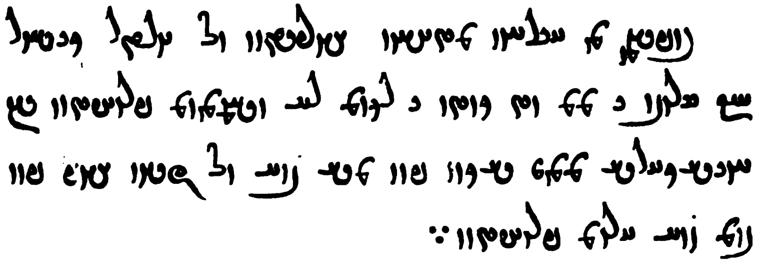
[2] شیخ حاجی محمد بن مولانا شیخ بن مولانا علي بن شیخ مولانا

Since writing the above, another copy of this book has come into my possession. It belonged at one time to the late Mr. Manookjee Sorabjee Ashburner. It is bound up with a copy of the Persian Sad-dar in verse, written by Behezâd Rustam in 1005 Yazdajardi. This copy is incomplete.

[3] Dr. West, S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 25.

To avoid all the troubles and anxieties caused by the heretical beliefs of his brother, Mânuscheher wishes, he could go away to China.

The passage in the epistle of Mânuscheher referred to above, runs thus :—



Benafshman min airân matâân agvirazidan val dûrtar keshvar âig sarub madam vad-kardan-i-lakum lâ vashmamunam farvâztan. Dayan khvishkâriya memanam sukun pavan maya bará val Chin ayûp pavan bûm bará Arum farvaztan.[2]

Dr. West thus translates the passage :—

"And I myself (shall have) to retire (agvirazîdanŏ) from the countries of Irân (and) to wander forth to far distant realms where I (shall) not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. In (my) occupation, moreover, my *fortune* (*sukun*) (may be) to wander forth by water even to China or by land even to Arum."[3]

---

[1] According to Maçoudi (Berbier de Meynard I., p. 214) these Tagazgaz (طغز غز) were a Turkish tribe (peuplade turque), and their country was in the regions where the Ganges had its source, and in the direction of China. Further on (I, p. 288) Maçoudi says of this people :—" Les Tagazgaz, qui occupent la ville de Kouchan (كوشان) (Kaotchang), située entre le Khoraçan et la Chine, et qui sont aujourd'hui, en 332, de toutes les races et tribus turques, la plus valeureuse, la plus puissante et la mieux gouvernée. Leurs rois portent le titre d'Irkhan, et seuls entre tous ces peuples ils professent la doctrine de Manès." It is worth noting, that the same tribe of Tagazgaz, which spread Manichean religion in China, began to spread its tenets, later on again, among some of the Zoroastrians, who came into contact with it.

[2] Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's ms., p. 461, ll. 1-4.

[3] S. B. E. XVIII, p. 358.

This passage shows that Persia had an intercourse with China in early times by sea.

The Pahlavi Bahman[1] Yasht refers to China, saying, that according to some, the father of the future apostle, Behrâm Varjâvand will come from the direction of China (*pavan kostê-i-Chinastân*)[2] and according to others, from that of India.

In the Pazend Jâmâspi, we find the following reference to China :—"The country of Chinastân is great. It has much of wealth, much of musk, much of jewellery. Its people are under affliction, because among them there is no far-sight as among us." (*Vide* my Pahlavi Translations, Part III., Jâmâspi, p. 120.)

VII.

The Shâh-nâmeh is replete with references to China. It appears, that Persia had frequent intercourse with China. So, it is probable, that the religion of Persia may have influenced China.

The fortress of Kanga, referred to in the Avesta (Yt. V. 57), and referred to by Firdousi[3] as Kang-dez, was founded by the Irânian prince Siâvakhsh, in the country of China. According to the Pahlavi Bundehesh[4], it was under the jurisdiction of Khorshed cheher, a son of Zoroaster himself. This fortress of Kangdez is, according to Prof. Gutschmid,[5] the Khang-kieu of Chinese history.

Arjâsp, who declares war against Gushtâsp, the King of Irân, as a protest against his (Gushtâsp's) acceptance of the new religion of Zoroaster, is spoken of both as the king of Turân and Chin.

From the Shâh-nâmeh we learn, that Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, went up to the frontiers of China. He defeated king Arjâsp, who is spoken of as the King of Turân and Chin, took his castle of "Ruin daz," and then founded several fire-temples in that locality. Speaking of his conquest of this fortress, Aspandyâr says :—[6]

برافروختم آتش زردهشت ∴ که با مجمر آورده بود از بهشت

---

[1] S. B. E. V., West, p. 220, Ch. III, 14.

[2] Dastur Kaikobad's Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht. Pahlavi text p. 15, l. 4.

[3] Mohl II, p. 341. [4] S. B. E. V., p. 142, Ch. XXXII, 5.

[5] Article on Persia, in "The Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. XVIII, p 594, col. 1. "Khang-kia seems to be properly the name of a country identical with the Kangha of the Khorda Avesta and the Gangdiz of Firdousi." *Vide*, also, my article on "The Country of Mekran" in the East and West, of May 1904.

[6] Mohl IV, p. 620, l. 3112.

According to Prof. Gutschmid,[1] we learn from Chinese sources, that a Chinese tribe named Yue-chi had conquered the Persian territories of Bactria and had come into close contact with the Persians. In Sassanian times, we find even an instance of matrimonial alliance between Persia and China. King Chosroes I. (Noshirwân) married a daughter of the then Khâkân of China.[2]

According to Maçoudi, as late as in the ninth century (264 Hijri) there were Magi مُجوس in China.[3]

Chinese silk was well-known in ancient Persia. The Chinese brocade, ديباي چين is often spoken of by Firdousi as playing a prominent part in Persian decorations.[4] It appears, that the Chinese art of decoration was known in Persia from old times. Sindókht, the mother of Roudâbeh, is represented as decorating a throne in Chinese fashion.

در ايوان يكي تخت زرين نهاد ∴ به آئين و آرايش چين نهاد

i. e., She placed a golden throne in the palace and decorated it in Chinese fashion.[5]

---

[1] Article on Persia, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVIII, p. 592-593

[2] Mohl. VI., p. 335.

[3] B. de Meynard I., p. 303.

[4] Mohl. IV., p. 25.

[5] Mohl. I., p. 310, l. 1561.

APPENDIX.

Quelques Observations sur les Ossuaires, Rapportés de Perse par M. Dieulafoy et Déposés au Musée du Louvre.

[*L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Séance du 30 October 1889. President—M. Barbier de Menyard.*]

Monsieur le Président et Messieurs,

Je suis un étranger en France et pour votre Académie érudite, mais votre pays et vos savants ne me sont pas étrangers, non plus qu' à mes coreligionnaires, les Parsis. C'est un Français, Anquetil du Perron, qui le premier fit connaître la littérature des Parsis à l'Europe. C'est un autre Français, Eugéne Burnouf, qui fonda la philologie scientfique de l'Avesta. C'est un Français, M. Mohl, qui donna la première traduction complète de notre grande épopée persane, le Shâhnâmeh. C'est encore un Français, le professeur Darmesteter, qui a traduit pour la première fois de l'original même, la plus grande partie de l'Avesta en langue anglaise.

C'est par un sentiment de reconnaissance pour les ouvrages de vos savants, que l'honorable sir Dinshaw Mânockji Petit, un des membres les plus généreux de notre communauté, a fondé la Bibliothèque française du Cercle littéraire de Bombay, qui porte son nom. Monsieur le Président, permettez-moi de présenter avec la même reconnaissance mes respects à votre Académie, et aux savants érudits de France, et de soumettre à l'Académie quelques observations sur les ossuaires rapportés de Perse par M. Dieulafoy, et déposés dans son intéressante collection du Louvre.

Ce sont des jarres de terre qui contiennent des ossements. Des jarres de ce genre avaient été déjà envoyées en 1813 à Bombay par M. Bruce, de Bouchire.[1] M. Bruce, en les envoyant, disait : " Ce mode de sépulture doit être très ancien et antérieur à Zoroastre, car je ne crois pas que ses sectateurs aient altéré leur mode de sépulture jusqu'à ce jour . . . . . . L'endroit où ces jarres ont été prises contenait cinq vases (dont un petit, je pense qu'il était pour un enfant). Ces cinq vases appartenaient sans doute à une seule et même famille. Ils étaient enterrés en ligne droite, allant de l'est à l'ouest, la petite extrémité dirigée vers l'est. Ces vases sont généralement au nombre de six, huit, dix, douze et ainsi de suite, placés en ligne droite de l'est à l'ouest,. et se trouvent toujours près de ruines où il y avait auparavant des habitations."

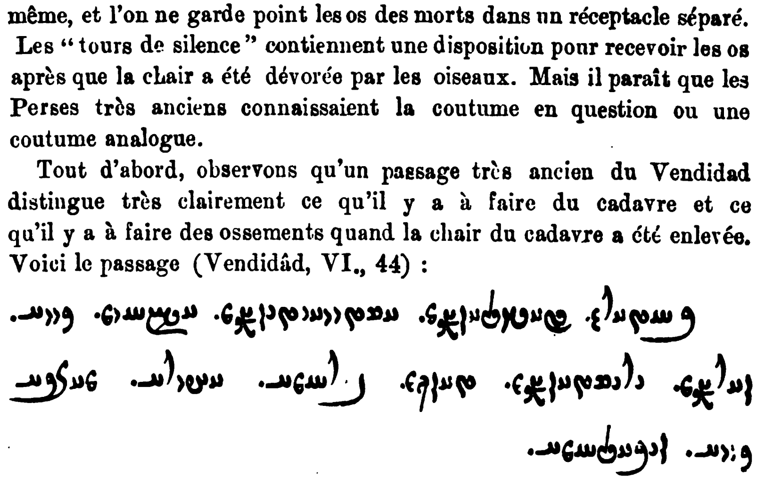
---

[1] *The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1819, 2nd edition, pp. 206—12.

On trouve aussi des ossuaires faits de pierre, à peu près carrés, mais ils sont très rares. L'an dernier, M. Joseph Malcolm, de Bouchire, en a envoyé un à Bombay.[1] Il est fait d'une sorte de pierre blanche et n'est pas rond comme les jarres. Il est d'une seule pierre et couvert d'un couvercle de la même matière et qui est aussi d'une seule pierre. Il a 28 pouces de longueur, 14 de largeur et 10 de profondeur. L'épaisseur est de près d'un pouce. Il y a quatre trous, chacun d'un quart de pouce en diamètre, sur les quatre côtés, juste à l'extrémité supérieure. Le couvercle aussi, a quatre trous correspondants.

Tels étant les faits, je voudrais examiner, si, selon les livres Parsis, les Perses anciens ont connu cette coutume. Actuellement elle n'existe ni chez les Parsis de l'Inde, ni chez leurs coreligionnaires de la Perse même, et l'on ne garde point les os des morts dans un réceptacle séparé. Les "tours de silence" contiennent une disposition pour recevoir les os après que la chair a été dévorée par les oiseaux. Mais il paraît que les Perses très anciens connaissaient la coutume en question ou une coutume analogue.

Tout d'abord, observons qu'un passage très ancien du Vendidad distingue très clairement ce qu'il y a à faire du cadavre et ce qu'il y a à faire des ossements quand la chair du cadavre a été enlevée. Voici le passage (Vendidâd, VI., 44) :



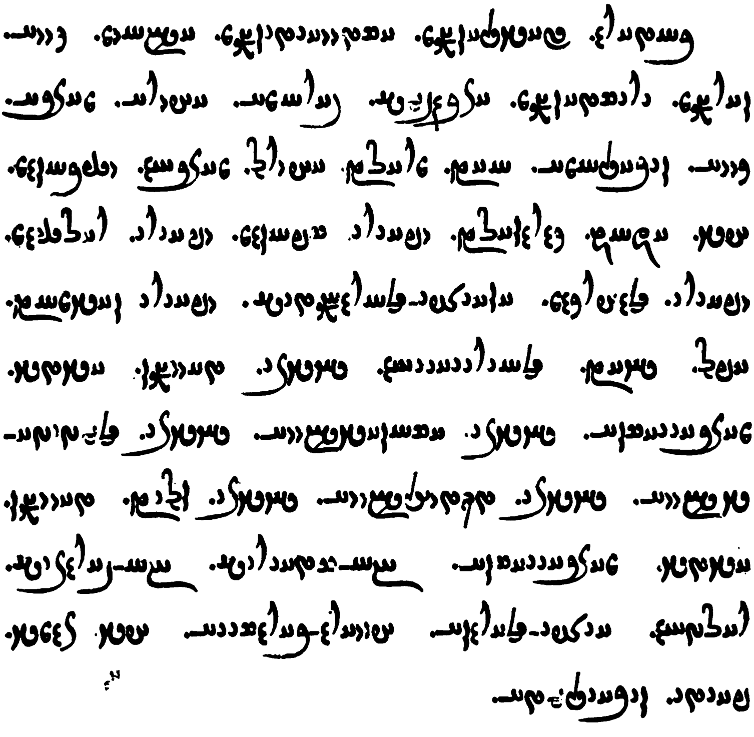
---

[1] *Proceedings of the Bombay Anthropological Society*, 29th *August* 1888 ; *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. I., No. 7.*

« Ô saint Créateur du monde matériel, où porterons-nous les corps des morts ? Ô Ahura Mazda, où les placerons-nous ?”

En réponse, il est dit que les corps seront portés sur le sommet des collines, et là, exposés à l'air et au soleil, pour être dévorés par les oiseaux.

La deuxième question, qui est très importante pour notre sujet, est celle-ci :



“Ô saint Créateur du monde matériel, où porterons-nous les os des morts ? Ô Ahura Mazda, où les placerons-nous ?

Ahura Mazda répondit : On doit préparer un édifice hors de l'atteinte du chien, hors de l'atteinte du renard, hors de l'atteinte du loup, inaccessible à l'eau de pluie d'en haut.

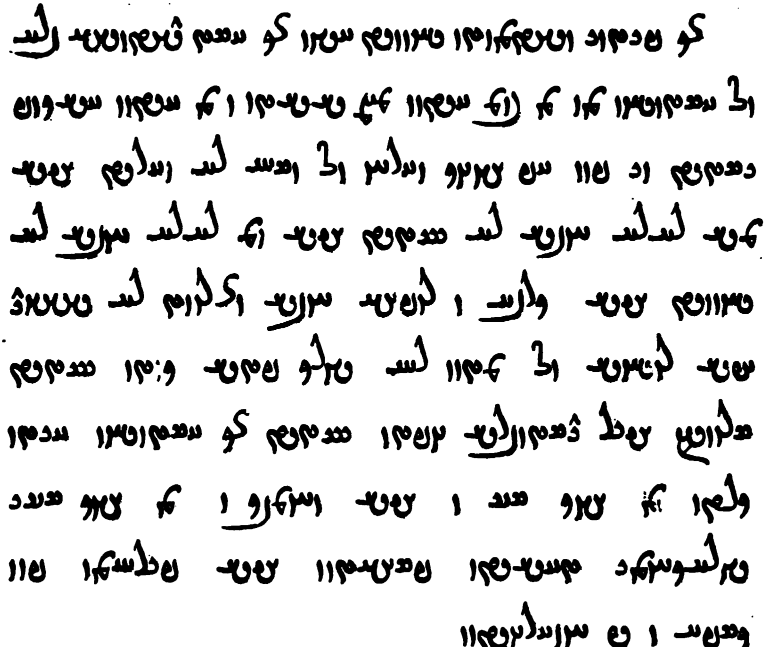
Si les Mazdayasniens en ont les moyens, (ils placeront les os) dans (un réceptacle de) pierre ou de mortier ou d'une matière inférieure. Si les Mazdayasniens n'en ont pas les moyens, ils les placeront sur leurs lits, et les exposeront sur la terre aux rayons du soleil. (*Vend.*, VI., 49—51, Westergaard.)"

Comme vous voyez, il y a deux questions différentes :

1° Où mettra-t-on le corps du mort ?

2° Une fois le corps dépouillé de sa chair et réduit aux os, où mettra-t-on les os ?

La réponse à la première question est qu'on expose le corps aux oiseaux. La réponse à la seconde est qu'on recueille les os dans un édifice. Cet édifice est appelé dans la traduction pehlvie *astodân*, c'est-à-dire "réceptacle d'os." Le Vendidad ne donne aucun éclaircissement sur la forme de cet *astodân*. Mais nous trouvons dans le *Dadistan i-Dini*, dans un passage correspondant, les lignes suivantes (question XVII.):



"Lorsque le corps est bien dévoré, les os doivent être placés dans un *astodân*, qui sera élevé au-dessus du sol et muni d'un toit de telle façon que la pluie ne puisse pas tomber sur la substance mortelle et que l'eau ne puisse pas rester dessus, d'en haut, et qu'aucune goutte ne puisse tomber dessus d'en haut et qu'un chien ou un renard n'y puisse avoir accès et que des trous soient faits dedans pour l'admission de la lumière. Il est de plus ordonné que l'*astodân* sera préparé d'une seule pierre et que son couvercle sera fait d'une seule pierre, bien préparée et perforée, et qu'il sera construit avec la pierre et du mortier tout autour."

Dans ce passage le mot *astodân* s'applique à deux rèceptacles très différents. Dans la première partie, il s'agit d'un monument, d'une sorte de voûte funéraire, analogue peutêtre aux caveaux achéménides. Dans la seconde partie, il s'agit d'un rèceptacle fait d'une seule pierre, dont le couvercle est aussi fait d'une seule pierre ; il ne peut évidemment s'agir d'un monument s'élevant du sol. L'idée s'offre naturellement d'un réceptacle semblable à ces jarres de pierre envoyées à Bombay. Il paraît donc que les Perses anciens connaissaient aussi la coutume d'ossuaires analogues à ceux de M. Dieulafoy. J'ajouterai que, d'aprés M. Malcolm, l'ossuaire qu'il a envoyé passe, parmi la population actuelle, pour avoir appartenu aux Perses anciens.

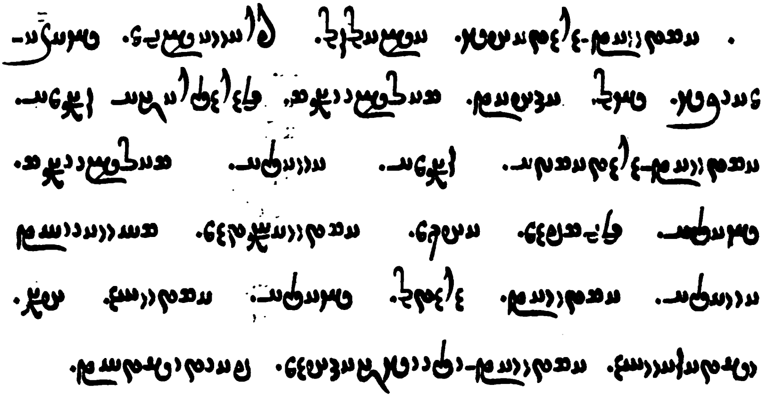
Ici se pose une question : pourquoi les os étaient-ils gardés dans les *astodâns*? Pourquoi croyait-on nécessaire d'amasser et de garder les os?

On les gardait en vue de la résurrection. La doctrine de la résurrection était une vieille croyance persane. On lit dans le *Zamyâd Yasht* (par. 89) :

𐬫𐬀𐬝. 𐬎𐬞𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬗𐬀𐬝. 𐬯𐬀𐬊𐬳𐬫𐬀𐬧𐬙𐬆𐬨. 𐬬𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬚𐬭𐬁𐬘𐬀𐬥𐬆𐬨 𐬎𐬙𐬀
𐬀𐬥𐬫𐬅𐬯𐬗𐬌𐬝 𐬵𐬀𐬑𐬀𐬫𐬋. 𐬫𐬀𐬝 𐬐𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬥𐬀𐬬𐬁𐬝 𐬟𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬆𐬨. 𐬀𐬵𐬏𐬨.
𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬱𐬆𐬧𐬙𐬆𐬨. 𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬆𐬱𐬆𐬧𐬙𐬆𐬨. 𐬀𐬟𐬭𐬌𐬚𐬫𐬀𐬧𐬙𐬆𐬨. 𐬀𐬞𐬎𐬫𐬀𐬧𐬙𐬆𐬨.
𐬫𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬉𐬘𐬍𐬨. 𐬫𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬉𐬯𐬏𐬨. 𐬬𐬀𐬯𐬋-𐬑𐬱𐬀𐬚𐬭𐬆𐬨
𐬫𐬀𐬝 𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬯𐬙𐬀 𐬞𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 𐬎𐬯𐬆𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬁𐬝. 𐬘𐬀𐬯𐬁𐬝 𐬘𐬬𐬀𐬫𐬋.
𐬀𐬨𐬆𐬭𐬆𐬑𐬙𐬌𐬱. 𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬁𐬌𐬙𐬉. 𐬟𐬭𐬀𐬱𐬆𐬨. 𐬬𐬀𐬯𐬥𐬀 𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬎𐬱.

" Cette splendeur s'attachera elle-même au victorieux Saoshyant et à ses compagnons. Alors il fera le monde frais, sans dépérissement, impérissable, libre de putréfaction et de corruption, toujours vivant, toujours progressant, puissant ; alors les morts se lèveront encore, l'immortalité sera le lot des vivants et le désir pour la fraîcheur sera accordé au monde."

Il semble d'après ce passage que Saoshyant produira la résurrection du monde et fera relever les morts. Mais comment fera-t-il relever les morts ? Il les fera se lever de leurs os (*ast*, [illegible]) qui sont gardés dans l'*astodân*. Pour cette raison, il est appelé *Astvat-Ereta*, c'est-à-dire, "celui qui relève les os." Nous trouvons le passage suivant dans le *Farvardîn Yasht* (129):



"Nous honorons le Fravashi du saint Astvat-Ereta, qui est par son nom le victorieux Saoshyant et par son nom Astvat-Ereta. (Il est par son nom) Saoshyant (c'est-à dire le bienfaisant), parce qu'il fera du bien à tout le monde matériel; et Astvat-Ereta, parce qu'il fera relever les créatures mortes corporelles à l'état de créatures vivantes."

Voilà pourquoi on gardait les os dans les *astodâns* ; ils devaient être utiles dans le futur, au temps de la résurrection, quand le Saoshyant fera que les morts se lèvent de leurs os.

L'Étymologie Populaire des noms des étapes entre Pichaver et Kabul[1].

[*La Société Asiatique de Paris. Séance du 8 Novembre 1889.*
President—M. Ernest Renan.]

Ces quelques notes, que je demande la permission de présenter a la Société Asiatique, ont pour but de donner la signification des noms portés par les localités situées sur la route, qui va de Pichaver (Peshâwar) dans l'Inde à Cabul, la capitale de l'Afghanistân. Ces notes reposent sur les informations, que j'ai obtenues sur le lieu même, en voyagant en 1887 sur les frontières de l'Afghanistan jusqu'à la forteresse d'Ali Masjid.

Je commencerai avec le nom du pays même, Afghanistân ou pays d'Afghan, qui etait le fondateur de la nation. Cet homme Afghan avait prit son nom d'une manière analogue à celle dont Rustam, le héros national de la Perse, avait, selon Firdousi, pris le sien. Avant sa naissance, dans le sein de sa mere , Rustam était devenu trop grand pour un accouchement ordinaire. On considera donc necessaire d'employer les moyens les plus violents pour aider à sa naissance. Lorsque, par ces moyens, il vit le jour, sa mère, se trouvant delivrée de ses douleurs, dit: " Rastam c. a. d. je suis délivrée (de mes peines)." Selon Firdousi, ce premier mot donna à Rustam son nom (Mohl, I. p. 352, l. 1706).

بگفتا برستم غم آمد بسر
نهادند رستمش نامِ پسر

"Elle dit " je suis délivrée (*rustem*), et mes douleurs sont finies" ; et l'on donna á l'enfant le nom de Rustem."

---

[1] *Vide* Journal Asiatique, Huitiéme Série, Tome XIV. (1889), p. 527.

La même histoire est racontée pour Afghân, qui prit son nom du premier mot que sa mère prononça après son accouchement pénible. Pour exprimer sa déliverance, elle dit: "Afghan" un mot qui signifie "Helas."

Pichaver, le point de départ d'une caravane pour Kaboul prend son nom de deux mots persans پیش et آور. Le premier signifie "en front" et le deuxiéme "celui qui apporte." Alors le nom de cette ville signifie "la ville mise en avant." Elle est appelée ainsi parce qu'auparavant elle était la première ville sur la frontière des territoires de l'Afghanistan.

Le premier relais après qu'on quitte Pichaver est Jamrud c. a. d. le rivière de Jam ou Jamshed. On dit que c'était là que Jamshed, le roi de la dynastie Peshdadienne de la Perse, regardait dans la "Jehân numâê jâm" (جهان نماي جام) c. a. d. la tasse qui montrait le monde. Le Shâhnâmeh attribue cette tasse à Kaê Khusrô. Il dit que Kaê Khusro possédait une tasse, dans laquelle il regardait le jour du Jamshedi Naoroz (fète qui a lieu le jour de Hormuz du mois de Farvardin), pour voir les évènements qui se passaient dans le monde. Firdousi nomme cette tasse جامِ گیتي نماى. On lit les lignes suivantes dans sa description de l'emprisonnement de Bejan. (Mohl, III, p. 344.)

بمان تا بیاید مه فرودین ∴ که بفزاید اندر جهان هور دین
. . . .
بهرمز شود پاک فرمان ما ∴ نیایش بر افروزد این جان ما
بخواهم من آن جام گیتي نماي ∴ شوم پیش یزدان باشم بپای
کجا هفت کشور بدو اندر را ∴ ببینم برو بوم هر کشورا
. . . .
چو نوروز خرم فراز آمدش ∴ بدان جام فرخ نیاز آمدش

"Attends jusqu 'au mois de Ferwerdin, quand le soleil, objet de notre culte, aura pris de la force. Alors j'adresserai á Hormuzd ma demande pieuse, et la prière éclairera mon ame. Je me ferai apporter la coupe qui réfléchit le monde je me présenterai devant Dieu, je me tiendrai debout devant lui, et je regarderai dans la coupe les sept Kischwers ; je scruterai tous leys pays de toutes les zones de la terre . . . . . Lorsque la joyeuse fête du Nourouz fut arrivée (Guiv) sentit le besoin de consulter la coup fortunée."

Le deuxiēme relais est Ali Masjid. L'historie suivante donne l'explication de ce nom, anisi que de ceux des autres endroits, entre le premier et le deuxième relais. Dans la montagne, entre ces deux relais, demeurait un homme nommé Bakhtyâr qui était un grand despote et un tyran. Il pillait tous les voyageurs de cette montagne et les molestait. Les habitants de cette partie du pays porterait ce fait à la connaissance du Khalif Ali, qui était toujours prêt à éviter les afflictions aux pauvres et á aider les nécessiteux. Il consentit á aller á cette montagne et à combattre le tyran Bakhtyâr. Il alla à cet endroit *via* Gazni et Pichaver. Étant informé de son arrivée Bakhtyâr jeta une grande pierre à Ali qui évita le danger en piquant des deux son cheval. Après avoir gravi cette montagne, il combatit Bakhtyâr et le tua. Il commençait à faire nuit. Alors Ali en descendant de cette montagne dit sa prière. Les habitants en reconnaissance de ce service du Khalife, bâtirent sur cette place de prière une petite Masjid (c. a. d. mosquée ou place de prière) et la nommèrent Ali Masjid. En conséquence l'endroit et la montagne aussi, prirent ce nom. On nous montre encore un petit bâtiment au pied de la forteresse d' Ali Masjid et dit que c'est le Masjid d'Ali, bâti sur la place oú il dit sa première prière après la guerre. Il a environ sept ou huit vergues carrées.

Voici les noms des etapes.

1. Ce Bakhtyâr avait une femme nommèe Khybri. Elle donna le nom de Khybre à la montagne qui commence après qu' on a quitté Jamrud.

2. Après la mort de Bakhtyâr, Ali alla chez Khybri et lui dit : Votre mari est tué manitenant. Si vous quittez votre religion infidèle et devenez Mahométane, je me marierai avec vous. Khybri consentit. En conséquence l'endroit est appelé " Shâdi Bakhtyâr" c. a. d. le mariage de Bakhtyâr.

3. Le troisième relais est Lundi Kotal, qui, dans la langue des Afghans, signifie un petit (lundi) village (kote). Il est appelé ainsi parcequ' c'est un petit endroit.

4. Dacca ou Lalpura.

5. Vâspar c. a. d. plus grand. Ainsi nommé parce qu' il est un village plus grand que Lundi Kotal.

6. Barikao.

7. Ali Bägyân. Ce mot signifie le "Jardin (bâg) d'Ali." On dit que c'était là, dans un jardin, qu'Ali, après la bataille avec Bakhtjâr, se reposa.

8. Jalâlâbâd c. a. d. un endroit qui prospère avec triomphe. C'était lá qu' un roi de la Daorâni dynastie avait gagnée une victoire.

9. Gundamak. Ce mot est un diminutif du mot persan "gandûṃ" qui signifie blé. Cet endroit est appelé "Gundamak" c. a. d. un petit grain du blé, parceque sa terre a la couleur d'un petit grain de blé.

10. Jagdalak c. a. d. orageux. Il dérive ce nom parce qu' il est exposé aux vents forts ou orageux.

11. Latband c. a. d. celui qui arrête (band) les vêtements (lat). C'est un endroit ou beaucoup de monde va en pèlerinage (jiârat) à la tombe d'un saint Mahométan qui y est enterré. Il est aussi couvert d'un grand nombre de buissons épineux. Ces buissons saisissent les vestements de ceux qui ne sont pes assez pieux et qui ne disent pas leurs prières sincèrement près de la tombe de ce saint.

INDEX.

Ab, 137, 139, 141.
Abân Yasht, 109, 212n.
Abbas, 7.
Abdaäs (Bishop), 158, 159.
Aberdeen (Lord), 5.
Abeste (*vide* Bost), 173, 184.
Ab-i-Bors, 3, 14.
Âb-i-Gargar (*vide* Nahr-i-Masrukân), 3, 5, 8, 10, 15, 21, 22.
Âb-i-Shur, 3.
Âb-i-Shuster, 9.
Âb-i-Zird, 15.
Abou Bakar, 174, 175.
Abou Davânik, 149.
Abou Djafar Mançour Abou'l Dawâniq, 149.
Abou Jafar, 149.
Abou Jaffer Mansur, 149.
Aboulfeda, 169, 169n, 202, 202n, 206n, 216.
Abou Obeidah, 157n.
Abou Zeid, 190.
Abrahah, 149, 200.
Abraham, 110.
Abrâsa, 207.
Abyssinia, 170.
Academy, 19, 66.
Académie (*vide* Academy), 255.
Açhâb-i-Din, 117.
Achemenians, 111, 112, 122, 127, 129.
Acheron, 40.
Adam, 37.
Âdarân Goushasp, 200.
Âdarbâigân (see Âtropâtakân and Âzerbâizân), 128, 151, 181.
Adarbâd Marespand, 223.
Adar-pâd, 118.
Âder Goushesp (see Azer Goushasp), 77.
Adhed-ed-Dooleh, 190.
Adjan, 151, 179, 180.
Æneas, 34.
Afghan (man), 261, 262.
Afghanistan, 19, 26, 261, 262.
Afghans, 263.
Afrâsiâb, 26-30, 55, 101, 127, 128, 151, 152, 152n, 163, 164, 167, 180, 187, 196, 245.
Africâ (see Farikâ), 146, 148, 149, 150.
Africans, 145.
Africas (man), 200.
Afrike
Afrikeieh
Afrikie } 149, 200.
Afrikiyeh
Âfringân, 2, 128.
Âfringân Gahambar, 128.
Âfrin Haft Amshâspand, 184.
Âfrin Pazend, 20, 52, 156.
Âfrin Rapithavan, 112, 113, 122, 123.
Âfrin Spitâmân Zarathusht, 52.
Agathias, 115, 158.
Aginis, 6.
Agni Purana, 78—80, 83.
Agra, 82.
Aharman (see Ahriman), 131.
Ahmed-Razi Kazvini, 195.
Ahriman, 11, 125, 182, 182n.
Ahura, 217.
Ahura Mazda, 36, 38, 138, 257.
Ahwaz, 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 16, 151, 177, 178, 179, 190, 191.
Aife, 54, 57.
Aikoun (see Akar), 192.
Ain-i-Akbari (see Ayin-i-Akbari), 105.
Ainle, 54.
Airân Goushasp (Gushasp), 180, 200 (see Atropate and Âzerbâd).
Airân Shatra, 153.
Airân-kird-Shâpuhar, 151, 164.
Airavati, 99.
Airdgenny, 54, 57.

Airya, 242, 244.
Airyana Vaeja, 136.
Airyava (see Erach), 244.
Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, 153, 156n, 166n, 183n.
Ajunta, 83, 84.
Akar, 191, 192.
Akandgar, 124, 125 (see Alexander).
Akili, 3.
Akisinis, 99.
Alasandar (see Alexander), 124.
Al-Athim (see Yazdagard I.), 157, 159.
Albanie, 242.
Albany, 54, 57.
Albert of Cologne, 36.
Al-Bilâduri, 206, 207.
Albiruni, 156, 156n, 215, 216.
Alburz, 225, 231.
Alexagdar (see Alexander), 124.
Alexander (the Great), 2, 31, 78, 86n, 112, 113, 120, 123—126, 151—155, 161—163, 165, 168—170, 175, 179, 195.
Alexandre (see Alexander), 160, 196.
Alexandria, 169.
Alexandrie, 135.
Alexidar (see Alexander), 124.
Alexieder (see Alexander), 31, 152.
Al-Hasnâ, 155.
Ali, 108, 109, 169, 223, 263, 264.
Ali Bâgyân, 264.
Ali ebn Abdul Rehman, 223.
Ali Masjid, 261, 263.
Al Khashan (see Yazdagard, I), 157, 159.
Almonder, Almondarus, Almondari, 169.
Al Sirât (see Chinvat), 232n.
Amatvash, 172.
Amemar, 159.
Ameretât, 134.
America, 80.
Ameshâspands, 138.
Amesha Spentas, 133—135.
Amhal, 206.
Ami, 148.
Amittai (see Mati), 193.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 168.
Amoul, 182.
Amouyeh, 182.
Âmui, 151, 180, 181, 182.
Amul (see Âmui), 151.
Anabon, 173.
Anâitis (see Ardviçura), 146.
Anantadiva, 211.
Anderimân, 27.
Angas, 92, 95.
Anghu, 138, 142.
Angra Mainyu (see Ahriman), 134.
Anquetil du Perron, 213, 217, 242, 249n, 255.
Anthony, 168.
Anthropological Society (Journal), 145n.
Antiochia, 163.
Antiochus, 158.
Antiochus Nicatore, 163.
Antia Edalji Kersaspji, 248n.
Anubis, 143.
Anushirvân (see Noshirvân), 82.
Anvâr-e-Sohili, 93.
Aquinas, 36.
Arab Conquest, 32, 223, 249n.
Arabia, 30, 70, 71, 179, 201, 240.
Arabia Felix (see Yemen), 148, 200.
Arabie Heureuse (see Arabia Felix), 151.
Arabian Nights, 51.
Arabs, 51, 85, 92, 95, 96, 103, 106, 126, 128, 148, 165, 170, 171, 176, 178, 190, 193, 194, 195n, 198, 209, 222, 224.
Arachosia, 184.
Arag, 148.
Ârâm-Hormaz (see Râm Hormuz), 6, 178.
Arcadius, 158.
Archangels, 35, 133.
Ardâi-Virâf, 31, 32, 38.
Ardâi-Virâf-Nâmeh (see Virâf-Nâmeh),
Ardan, 54.
Ardavân (see Artabanes), 2, 6, 23, 175, 176, 189.

Ardavân, III. 168.
Ardashir Gadman, 151, 176, 178, 189.
Ardeshir Bâbegân, 2, 6, 9, 23—25, 30, 95n, 111—123, 129, 130, 153, 154, 164, 168, 170, 175—177, 179, 187, 189, 198, 224, 247.
Ardeshir I (see Ardeshir Bâbegân).
Ardeshir (see Bahman Asfandyar), 172, 191.
Ardeshir Kherreh (Kharreh), 176, 177, 191.
Ardviçura, 109, 146.
Areimanios, 130, 133, 134.
Aria (see Herât), 163.
Aricesari Dêvarâja, 210.
Aristotle, 120, 135.
Arjâsp, 27, 53, 156, 173, 253.
Armaiti, 133.
Arras, 181.
Arrian, 2, 13.
Arsacedan, 67, 67n, 166.
Arsacide, 126, 128.
Arsakiân, 82.
Artabanes (see Ardavân), 2, 23, 189.
Artakhshtar (see Ardeshir Bâbegân).
Arum, 119, 242, 244, 252.
Arumâns, 113, 152.
Arumâyâk (Roman), 125.
Aryans, 65.
Asâvil, 202.
Asâwal, 215.
Ascension (of Isaïe), 44.
Asfandiâr, 123, 155, 156, 171, 172, 191, 192, 251, 253.
Asha Vahishta, 133, 135, 223.
Ashburner, H. C., 210.
Ashemvohu, 19, 19n.
Ashi, 159.
Ashkânian, 166.
Asia, 6, 106, 146, 241.
Asia (Central), 145, 146, 147, 183.
Asia (Western), 147, 183, 242.
Asia Minor, 242, 244.
Asiatics, 145, 146.
Asiatic Journal, 45, 53, 112n, 116n 117n, 120n, 121n, 153n, 167n, 248n, 249n, 250n, 261n.
Asiatic Quarterly Review, 45, 46.
Asiatic Researches, 78n—81n, 82, 85n, 92n, 96n, 102n,—107n, 201n, 210n.
Asiatic Society (Paris), 53.
Asikani, 99.
Askân, 113.
Askar (Ashkar, Asker), 151, 179, 192.
Askar (see Askar-i-Nishapour), 180, 191.
Askar-i-Moukarram, 151, 179n.
Askar-i-Nishapour, 180.
Aspandyarji Kamdin (Dastur), 214n.
Aspvarj, 173.
Ass-Money, 82.
Assyria, 168.
Âstâd, 143.
Astarte (see Ardviçura), 146.
Asterabad, 149.
Astodân, 8, 145, 258, 259, 260.
Astvat-oreta (see Saoshyant), 145, 260.
Âtar, 34, 35, 38, 39.
Âtash Faroba, 31.
Âtash Nayâish, 172, 174.
Âtash-Vâhrâm, 227.
Athar-el-Bilad, 162n.
Athenæum, 45.
Athim, 79.
Athravans, 117, 212.
Athirmah (see Ati-Brahmâ), 79n.
Ati-Brahmâ, 79.
Atropate, 180, 200.
Atropatene (Atropatena), 180—182.
Âtropâtakân (see Âzerbâijân), 151, 180, 200.
Atropatus, 200n.
Aûharmazd, 130, 131, 227.
Auharmazd (city), 190 (see Ahwa).
Auhumuzd (see Ahwaz), 190.
Auhuvazd (see Ahwaz), 191.
Auhuvaz (see Ahwaz), 191.
Auliffe, 58.

Avesta, 19, 52, 99, 111—115, 117—119, 121—123, 125, 126, 128—135, 137, 139, 140, 143, 155, 156, 168, 172-174, 183, 185, 195, 212, 213, 217, 241, 244, 253, 255.
Avesta (Ardeshir), 115.
,, (Grand), 111, 112, 130.
,, (Modern), 114, 115, 118.
,, (Primitive), 114, 115, 118.
,, (Sassanian), 130.
,, (Vistâsp), 114.
,, (Brahmanical elements in—), 113, 135.
,, (Budhistic elements in—), 118.
,, (Greek elements in—), 118, 121, 130, 133.
,, (Indian elements in—), 121, 135.
,, (Jewish elements in—), 113, 136.
,, (Parthian elements in—), 123.
,, (Post-Alexandrian elements in—), 114.
Avestic Geography, 19, 20.
Awdjân (see Adjân), 180.
Ayin-i-Akbari, 79, 81, 105.
Âzdeh, 70, 73.
Âzerbâd, 180, 200.
Âzerbâijân, 20, 180.
Âzer-Goushasp, 72—74, 77.
Âzermidokht, 161.
Azi-dahâka (see Zohâk), 126, 127, 153n, 178, 183, 184.

Ba, 137, 142.
Ba-akhtar-i-Kerm, 188n (see Haftwâd).
Bâbel, 183, 184.
Bab-el-Abwâb (see Derbend), 209.
Bâbiru (see Babylon), 127.
Bâbirush (see Babylon), 168, 183.
Babylon, 5, 96, 126, 127, 150, 168, 169, 183, 184.
Backgammon (see Nard), 95.
Bactria, 180, 181, 199, 242, 245, 254.
Bactrians, 05, 106.
Bactrian Sage, 180.
Bada-ud-din, 103, 104, 106.
Bâdha-akh, 196.
Bâdhakh, 196.
Baêvarê-chashmana, 143.
Bagdâd, 5, 149, 151, 168, 182,
Bahaman (see Vohumano), 133.
Bahman (son of Ardavân), 24.
Bahman (Asfandiâr), 103, 104, 128. 163, 171, 174, 191, 192, 251.
Bahman Nâmeh, 104.
Bahman Yasht, 109, 124, 125, 253.
Bahrâm, 79.
Bahruj (see Broach), 215.
Baira, 215.
Bâj, 74.
Baka, 74.
Bâkhar (see Balkh), 155, 196.
Bâkhar-i-Nâmik (see Balkh), 155.
Bâkhar-i-Nyok (see Balkh), 155.
Bâkhdhi (see Balkh), 155, 196, 197.
Bâkhal (see Balkh), 155, 196, 196n.
Bakhte Kerm (see Haftwâd), 187.
Bakht-en-Nasr (see Nebuchadnezzer), 162.
Bakht-i-Kerm (see Haftwâd), 188n, 189
Bakhtiary Mts., 14.
Bakhtyâr, 263, 264.
Balagassoun, 248.
Balakh (see Balkh), 196.
Bál-akh (see Balkh), 196.
Bala-Râis, 102.
Bald-el-Shâm, 199.
Balhara, 205n.
Balkh, 149, 155, 182, 195, 196, 196n.
Balkhi (see Lohrâsp), 155.
Bâlunieh (Bâlunyeh), 7, 10 (see Edessa.)
Bampton Lectures, 141, 217.
Bamushir (see Khar Bamushir), 4.
Band-i-Kaiser, 21, 22.
Band-i-Kir, 3, 8—10, 15, 16, 21.
Band of Ahwaz, 8.
Band-i-Mizân (Band of Balance), 22.
Band-i-Shâhzâdeh (Prince's Band), 22.
Bâni Battan, 202.

Baodha (see Buity), 135.
Baodhangh, 138, 140, 142.
Bâpêl, 169.
Baranoush (Baranous), 10, 11, 161, 164.
Baratarzâd, 172.
Barbier de Meynard, 113n, 147n, 151n, 155n, 157n, 161n—163n, 165n—171n, 173n,—180n, 182n-184n, 186n, 187n, 190n, 192n,—195n, 197n, 200n, 205, 205n, 209, 209n, 252n, 254n.
Bardrûd (see Bhader), 215.
Bairkao, 263.
Bârmân (see Aspvarz), 55, 56, 173.
Baroach, 81.
Barsom, 73, 74.
Barthélemy (M.), 44, 183n.
Bary, 144n.
Basmand, 206.
Basmat, 202.
Basrah, 6, 13.
Bassein, 203, 204, 207.
Bastur, 173, 185.
Bastvairi, 173, 185.
Bât-Khûsrô (see Pât-Khûsrô and Sarv), 179, 191.
Bawri (see Babylon), 126—128, 150, 168, 183, 184.
Bawârij, 215.
Bâwr (see Babylon), 168.
Bazeghar (see Al Athim), 159.
B. B. R. A. S. (Journal), 201n.
Bede's (St.) College, 218.
Bettawend, 3.
Behe-âfrid, 53.
Behezâd Rustam, 251n.
Behistun Inscriptions, 127, 130, 168, 183n.
Bendui, 30.
Ben Lakish, 158.
Behrâm (angel), 143.
Behrâm (of Yazdagard), 171.
Behrâm IV, 157, 174, 175.
Behrâm V (see Behrâm Gour), 67, 68, 102, 162, 236, 239.
Behrâm Choubin, 30.
Behrâm Gour, 30, 67—84, 102, 157, 162, 167, 235—240.
Behrâm Varjâvand, 253.
Behrâm Yasht, 212n.
Beh-Shâpur (see Veh Shâpur), 176.
Bejan, 262.
Bellew, 171n.
Benâ Shapur (see Vish Shâpur), 176
Benâres, 83, 85.
Bernard (St.), 37, 38.
Bhader, 215.
Bhandup, 210.
Bhawishya Purân, 92.
Bible, 119.
Bibliothèque Française, 255.
Bidpâi, 45, 93n.
Binâ Farvardin Yum-i-Khordâd, 148n, 179.
Birmaharâj (see Brahmâ), 79n.
Bishop (camel), 91, 92.
Bivarasp (see Zohâk), 184.
Biya, 99.
Black Sea, 242.
Bleeck, 242n.
Bohn's Classical Library, 106n.
Bokhara (see Balkh), 149n, 155, 199.
Bokht-i-kerm (see Haftwâd), 188n.
Bolgia, 41.
Bombay, 16, 201, 255, 256, 259.
Bombay Gazetteer, 83n, 201, 202, 204—207, 207n, 209, 209n, 210, 214.
Bombay Geographical Society, 5, 5n.
Bone receptacles (see Astodân), 8.
Bonvalot, 152n.
Bors (see Âb-i-Bors), 14.
Bostân-Karp, 220.
Bost (see Abeste), 150, 173, 184.
Bostock, 112n, 184n.
Bouchire (see Bushire), 255, 256.
Bouschendj (see Shideh), 197.
Brahmâ 79,107
Brâhmans, 85, 95, 102, 212.
Brâtarzi, 197.
Bréal (M.), 133.
Broach, 215, 216.
Brook (Miss), 54.

Bruce (M.), 255.
Brutus, 41.
Budha, 83, 84, 136.
Budha-worship, 84.
Buddhism, 136.
Bühler (Dr.), 201n, 210n, 211, 212.
Buity, 135.
Bulkh (see Balkh).
Bundehesh, 18—21, 65, 100, 124, 126, 130, 131, 145, 147, 148n, 181, 184, 184n, 195, 195n, 197, 197n, 217—224, 243, 244, 247, 258.
Bundehesh (Irânian or Grand), 148.
Bunder Abbas, 150n.
Bundhi (see Buity).
Bunsen, 109.
Burnes, 82.
Burnouf (Engène), 255.
Bushire, 1, 145n, 175.
Bût-worship, 84.
Buzarjameher, 94, 95, 98.
Bydaspes (see Hydaspes), 100.
Byzantium, 158.

Cabul, 78, 102, 147, 149, 150, 172, 173, 261.
Cabulistân, 147.
Caçyapa (St.), 107.
Cama (K. R.) Memorial Volume, 218, 219.
Cambat, 83.
Cambay, 83, 204—206.
Cambaye, 205.
Cân, 243 (see Saon).
Cânians, 242.
Canouje (see Kanoj), 80.
Carnac (General), 201, 210.
Carthage, 200.
Cary, 106n.
Caryanda, 106.
Casartelli (Revd. Dr.), 218.
Cashef, 107.
Cashmere, 78, 89, 99—110.
Cashmir (Kashmir)—see Cashmere.
Caspatyrus, 106.
Caspian, 150, 242.
Cassius, 41.
Castle (see Rook), 91, 92.
Castle of Rustam (see Kileh-i-Rustam), 15.
Castle of the Daughter (see Kaleh-i-Dokhtar), 15.
Catpan Bhanu, 103.
Caucasus, 243.
Cavul (see Cabul), 150.
Caxton, 96, 97n, 98.
Cazvini (Kazvini), 155, 175, 175n, 181.
Cerberus, 42, 43.
Chahar Dangah (see Karun), 2, 21.
Chaldea, 126.
Chaldée, 71n.
Chammir (see Samar), 194, 195.
Chammir-Yerach, 194, 199.
Chânakya, 83.
Chand-i-Shâpur (see Vandu), 178.
Chaon-Seang Wang, 246n, 251.
Chariot (see Rook), 95.
Chatrang (see Chess), 95, 96.
Chatur-anga, 95, 96.
Chavannes (M.), 248—250.
Check (see Chess), 96.
Chehel Cheshmeh, 3.
Cheherâzâd (Chehârzâd), 177.
Chekâli, 225.
Chekât-i-Dâîtî, 225, 231.
Chenâb (Chenaub), 78, 99.
Cherkheh (See Hvaspa and Choaspes), 2, 20, 160.
Chesney (Colonel), 1.
Chess (see Shatranj), 85, 90, 96.
Cheyne (Dr.), 136, 141, 217, 218.
Chhittarâjadeva, 210.
Chin (see China), 75, 76, 79, 162, 241, 244—246, 248, 253.
China, 74, 75, 86, 128, 148, 194, 241—246, 248—254.
Chinastân, 243, 248, 253.
Chine (see China), 163, 219, 252n.
Chinese, 35n.
Chinvahar (see Chinvat), 225.

Chinvat, 35, 36, 224n, 232n.
Chios, 133.
Chirkheh (see Cherkheh), 14.
Choaspes (see Cherkheh), and Hvaspa), 15, 17, 20, 100, 160.
Chosroe (see Kaiser), 189n.
Chosroes 172, (see Barâtarzâd).
Chosroes I, (see Noshirvân), 85, 93, 102, 168, 254.
Chow, 246n.
Chowgân, 23, 28, 30.
Chowgân-gui, 23—25, 27, 29, 30.
Christ, 158.
Christianity, 158.
Christians, 14, 158, 159, 248.
Church, 33, 116, 117.
Cidranus, 158.
City of the King (see Shâh Shetra), 9.
Civilization of Eastern Iranians, 243.
Cologne, 36.
Cloustan (Mr. W. A.), 45, 51.
Conal-cearach, 54, 57, 58, 60.
Conloch, 53, 54, 57, 60—65.
Conor-MacNessa, 54, 55, 58, 60.
Contemporary Review, 111n.
Coprates (see Dizful), 15.
Correng (see Khorreh), 3, 20.
Country of Magicians, 76.
Croabh-ruadh, 55.
Crusaders, 85.
Crusades, 85.
Ctesiphon, 150, 158, 159, 167, 168, 183.
Cucullin, 53—55, 57, 58, 60—65.
Cufa, 150, 169.
Curson, 166.
Cutch-Sindân, 204, 206, 207.
Cyrus, 68n, 154, 192.

Dabishlim, 93.
Dabistân, 110, 164, 197.
Dacca, 263.
Dâd-farrokh, 118.
Dâdistân-i-Dini, 144, 218, 225n, 226n, 258.
Daenâ, 138—142.
Daevas, 135.
Daevayaçmân, 119.
Dahâk (see Lohak), 184.
Dahestan (Dahistân), 149, 166.
Dâhi (see Khâvar), 128n, 242, 244.
Dâirîd (see Tigris), 18.
Dair-i-Parikân, 109.
Dajeile-i-Tuster (see Nahr-i-Tuster), 21.
Dajeile Masrukan, 21.
Dâl lake, 109.
Damân, 216.
Damâvand, 166, 195.
Dambar, 86, 89.
Dâmdâd Nask, 220—222.
Damghân, 166.
Damna (Damneh), 45, 93n.
Daṇhupaiti, 128.
Daniel, 2, 14, 160.
Daniel-i-Akbar, 15.
Daniel-i-Ashkar, 15.
Dante, 31—43.
D'Anville, 173n, 184n.
Daorani, 264.
Dara II, 171, 175.
Dara (of Dara II), 175.
Darab, 104, 171, 193, 251.
Darab (Dastur), 175n, 186n-189n, 243.
Dârâb-gard (-gird), 151, 175, 177, 193.
Dârâb Hormazdyar, 207n, 208n.
Dâraja, 181.
Darius Hystaspes, 105, 106, 127, 128.
Darmesteter (Prof.), 53, 111—117, 119—131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 147n, 158, 159, 161n, 179n, 184, 196n, 213, 223, 224, 241, 243, 247n, 248, 255.
Dâryâi, 181 (see Dâraja).
Dâtakiya, 223.
Dâtakiya-i-Ashvahishta, 223.
Date of Zend Avesta, 111n.
David, 156.
Dazh-i-Napisht, 152-154.
Daz-i-Sapheed, 55-57.
Debal, 215, 216.
Deioces, 171.

Delhi, 58.
Deluge, 136.
Derbend, 209.
Der-i-Kohendez, 164.
Desai, P. B. 53, 98n.
Desht, 179, 191.
Desht-i-Tazik, 179.
Devéria, 249.
Devsâram, 98n.
Dhaizan (see Zizan), 166.
Dhoul Carnein, 151.
Dietrich, 66.
Dieulafoy (Madame), 71, 72, 255, 259.
Dijleh (see Tigris), 18.
Din, 229.
Dinkard, 111-115, 119, 120, 123-125, 136, 148n, 152n, 153, 153n, 154, 160, 160n, 169, 169n, 179, 179n, 182, 182n, 220, 221, 247.
Din-Vajarkard, 220, 221.
Diodorus, 13.
Dipislim (see Dabislim), 93.
Div, 207.
Divine Comedy, 31, 32.
Divine Intelligence, 32.
Diz-ful (see Coprates), 3, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21.
Diz-Malekân, 8.
Djeser Wadjerd, 167.
Djey (see Gaê), 161.
Djound-i-Sabour (see Vandu), 178.
Djour (see Gour (city)), 176.
Djunoud (see Vandu), 178.
Dnyân Prasarak Mandli, 53.
Dooshak (see Zarenj), 150, 185, 186.
Douglas (Prof.), 241, 244, 246.
Dowson (Prof.), 215, 216.
Draughts (see Nard), 95.
Dû Dângah (see Âb-i-Gargar), 15, 21.
Dughdo, 181.
Dujako, 186.
Dundulgan, 58.
Dun-Sgathach, 54.
Duzaka (see Dooshak), 185—187.
Duijas, 212.
East, 6, 45, 54, 65, 85, 96, 119, 131, 148, 253n.
East (Further), 148, 245.
Eastwick (Lieut.), 201n.
Ebn-Athir, 78.
Ebn-Haukal, 149, 154, 154n, 160n, 162—166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 176, 178—180, 184, 185, 189n, 190, 191, 200, 202—204, 206, 207.
Ecbatana (see Hamdân), 171.
Eclid, 71.
Ed-Dehbi, 168.
Edessa (see Bâlunich), 2, 7, 10, 24.
Edrisi, 151, 152, 167, 167n, 169, 169n, 171, 171n, 173n, 174, 175, 177—180, 182, 182n, 184, 184n, 185, 185n, 190, 190n, 191, 191n, 198, 198n, 200, 200—207.
Egypt, 146, 148, 149.
Egyptians, 137—139, 141—146.
Elam, 14.
Elephant (see Castle), 91, 95.
Eleven Warriors (Battle of), 173.
Elliot, 202—204, 204n, 206, 206n, 207, 207n, 215, 215n.
Emamia, 55.
Empyrean, 36.
Encyclopædia Britannica, 241, 245n, 246n, 253n, 254n.
England, 1, 6, 16, 85, 96, 116.
Enoch, 53.
Enylmerodach (see Merodach), 96.
Epagomenal days, 144n.
Epistles of Mânuscheher, 251.
Erach, 243, 244.
Erachji Sorabji Meherjirana, 110n.
Erezi, 19.
Ereziphya, 109.
Erezva Srutô Spâdha, 246.
Erin, 60, 65.
Esfadjân, 198.
Esther, 159, 171.
Études Iranienes, 179n, 184.
Eulæus, 15, 20, 21, 160.

Euphrates, 1, 4-7, 10, 18, 20, 126, 128, 147, 168.
Europe, 41, 54, 85, 95, 200, 255.
Eutychius, 157n.
Evil, 40, 144.
Excerses, 96.
Exchequer (see Chess), 96.
Exilarch (see Resh Galutha), 156, 159.
Exiles (see Resh Galutha), 156.

Fables of Bidpâi, 45.
Faghfour (Fugfoor), 76, 245.
Falconer (Prof. Forbes), 45, 200.
Fâmhal, 202.
Farah (see Euphrates), 20.
Farâwâd, 178 (see Shâpur-gird).
Farbag, 231.
Fariâb (Fariâv), 153, 173.
Faridun (Feridun), 107, 126, 153n, 164, 172, 179, 191, 243.
Farika (see Africa), 147, 149, 172, 200.
Farobâ, 31.
Farohar (see Fravashi), 37, 131, 138, 139, 247.
Farud, 164.
Farvardin Yasht, 122, 123, 128, 131, 133, 136, 138, 139, 142, 184, 241-244, 246, 247, 260.
Farwardin (Ferwerdin), 262.
Fazl, 206.
Felewdj, 171, 187.
Fereh (see Fariâb), 173.
Fergusson (Mr.), 84.
Ferishta, 80.
Ferz (see Vierge), 92.
Fil, 93.
Firangiz, 30.
Firdousi, 1, 7, 9-11, 15, 19, 21-30, 45-47, 52, 55, 64-66, 69-71, 73-76, 78-82, 84-86, 90-93, 95, 101-104, 107, 109, 110, 126, 152, 157, 160-162, 164, 165, 172-174, 176-179, 182, 184, 187-189, 237-240, 243-245, 253, 253n, 254, 261, 262.
Firuzâbâd, 151, 176, 189, 190.
Firouz-Nâmeh, 250.
Firouz Shâh, 251.
Fixed Stars, 36.
Fol, 92.
Foot-soldier, 92, 95.
Fradatha, 19, 20.
Frâmroz, 101, 172.
France, 255.
Frashaôster, 36.
Frâsiâv (Frâsiyâk), 174, 186 (see Afrâsiâb).
Frât (see Euphrates), 20, 147.
Fravashis, 128, 131-133, 138, 139, 142, 247, 260.
Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, 226n.
Fuor (see Porus), 86,
Futuhu-l-Buldân, 206.

Gadhâ-rupa (see Gand'harva and Behrâm Gour), 79-81, 83.
Gad'hendra-puri, 81.
Gadhia, 82 (see Vikramâditya).
Gadhia-ka-paisá (see Ass money), 82, 83.
Gaê (see Ispahân), 151, 160, 161, 179.
Gai, 161n.
Gajastak Abâlis, 182n.
Game of Chess (Caxton's), 96, 103.
Ganâk-Mino (see Satan), 40.
Gandarii, 105.
Gandharas, 105.
Gandharbas, 82.
Gand'harva, 78-80.
Gandhâr Brahmans, 105.
Gangdiz, 253n.
Gang Dizh-Hukht, 184.
Ganges, 25n.
Ganje, 151, 180.
Ganj-e-Shâyagân, 94n.
Gaotema, 136.
Gaotema Buddha, 135, 136.
Gardabhina, 81, 82.

Gardis, 46, 49.
Garotmân (Garutmân), 36, 232.
Gâthâs, 129, 217.
Gâthâ days, 144.
Gau, 86-89, 93.
Gayomard, 37.
Geiger (Dr.), 243.
Geldner (Prof.), 19.
Ghelân, 150.
Ghojârâ, 81.
Ghosha-Râja, 81.
Ghoshera, 81.
Gibbon, 10, 172n.
Gildemeister, 202, 203, 203n.
Gilgit, 104n.
Giöfell (see Chinvat), 35.
Gird, 180.
Giv, 58.
Gizni (Gazni), 173, 263.
Gladwin, 79n.
Gobla, 4.
Godrez (see Goudrez).
Gogoshasp, 118, 242.
Goher-i-Alem Tohfet-us-Shahi, 103.
Goldsmid (Sir F. J.), 150, 150n.
Good wind, 231.
Gor, 83.
Gordâfrid, 56.
Goshan-jam (see Yudân-Yim), 223.
Geshêrâ, 81.
Gottinger, 66.
Goudrez (Goudarz), 57, 60, 173, 200.
Gour (City), 176, 189, 190.
Gour (see Behrâm Gour), 68, 239.
Gour Ardashir Gadman (see Kharreh Ardeshir), 176.
Graetz, 156n, 159.
Great Britain, 95.
Greeks, 99, 112, 120, 121, 134, 152, 154, 160, 163, 166, 180, 195.
Green, 66.
Grimm (J.), 65.
Gui, 23.
Guidecca, 40.
Gujarat, 82, 83, 201, 207, 216.
Gulbad, 27.
Gundamak, 264.
Gurgân, 166.
Gushtâsp (see Vishtâspa), 25, 26, 110, 123, 128, 155, 163, 173, 181, 195, 251, 253.
Gutschmid (Prof.), 253, 254.

Hadokht Nask, 140, 218, 217n.
Hadrawar, 202.
Haffâr, 3-5.
Haftân-Bokht (see Kerm), 188, 188n.
Haftân-Bokht-i-Kerm Khodâe, 187.
Haftwâd (see Kerm), 188, 188n, 189.
Hairat (see Herat), 150, 164.
Hajir, 55-57.
Hall of Judgment, 139, 144.
Hamadân (man), 171.
Hamd-Allah Mustafi, 165, 198.
Hamdân, 150, 170.
Hamdulla bin Abou Bakar, 174.
Hamilton, 200n.
Hamistagân (see Purgatory), 34-36, 234.
Hammer (Von), 17.
Hamzah, 167, 183, 195.
Hamz-Isphahâni, 184.
Hanâvil (see Asâvil), 202.
Handbuch der Zend Sprache, 243n.
Hanjaman (see Sanjân), 211.
Hanjamana, 201, 209-215.
Hanoi, 241n.
Hanyamana, 210, 211.
Haoma, 123-125.
Hapta-Hindu (see Septa Sindhu), 99, 100, 215.
Harâe, 162, 163, 197.
Harâi (see Herat), 149.
Hari, 197.
Harirud, 164, 197.
Hariva, 163, 197.
Harlez, 213, 243.
Harôe, 197.
Harôyu, (see Herat), 163, 197.
Haug (Dr.), 33n, 44, 111, 114, 119n, 133, 140, 152n, 153, 190, 218.

Haug's Essays, 114, 119n, 130n, 134.
Haurvatât, 134.
Hazâr Setun, 175.
Heaven, 34-38, 53, 226n.
Hedyphon (see Âb-i-Zird), 15.
Hedypnus (see Âb-i-Zird), 15.
Heidour, 202.
Heirah, 169, 170.
Hekatompylos, 166.
Helen 53, 98.
Hell, 33-36, 38-43.
Hell of Dante), 34, 35, 39-42.
Hennel (Captain), 1.
Henry VIII., 116.
Herat (man), 197.
Herat (city), 109, 149, 163, 164, 166,. 197,
Herbads, 213.
Hermippus, 112, 133, 134.
Herodotus, 13, 17, 105, 106, 106n, 144n, 171, 242.
Hesidrus (see Sutlej).
Hey (See Veh), 151, 179.
Hildebrand, 66.
Hildibrandsleid, 66.
Hind (see India), 76, 80, 202, 203, 206.
Hindoustân (see India), 74, 75, 77, 95, 100, 107, 238.
Hindus, 81, 83, 85, 89, 91, 99, 119, 146.
Hilleh, 150, 168, 169.
Hira (see Herat), 150, 169, 170.
Hirat (see Herat), 150, 169, 170, 172.
Hirat Annomân, 170.
Hirleh, 150, 168.
History of India, 202-204n, 206n, 215, 215n.
History of Persia, 78.
Holmius, 109.
Ho-lou, 249.
Hom Yasht, 123-125.
Homâê (bird), 2.
Homâê (queen), 53, 104, 175, 177.
Homâê Cheherâzâdân, 177.
Hômân, 55, 56, 63.
Homère, 241.
Hormazd, 262.
Hormaz Ardeshir, 190.
Hormuz (Grandson of Ardeshir), 30, 177, 178, 190, 262.
Hormuz (day), 262.
Hormuz (island), 207.
Hormuz (city), 177, 190.
Hormuzshir, 177.
Hormuz Scheher, 177, 190.
Horse (see Knight), 92, 93.
Horus (see Âstâd), 143.
Hoshang, 9, 126, 175.
Hoshasg Jamasp (Dr.), 219.
Hoshangji 33n, 114, 119n, 140, 152n, 153n, 190.
Housnâ (see Al Hasnâ).
Houzmshir, 177.
Hukhta, 32, 35.
Humân, 27.
Humata, 32, 35.
Huna, 159 160.
Hunter (William), 82.
Huris, 218.
Hutokhsh, 117
Hvarê-Khshaêta, 143.
Hvarshta, 32, 35.
Hvaspa (see Choaspes), 19, 20, 100.
Hydaspes (see Jhelum), 99, 100.
Hydraortes (see Ravi), 99.
Hyphasis, 99.
Hysiris (see Osiris), 143.
Hystaspes, 20.

Ibn-al-Muqaffa, 120.
Ibn-el-Moquanna, 200.
Ibn-el-Faquih, 76.
Ibn Khurdâdba, 206.
Ideas (Platonic), 117, 131, 132, 133, 247.
Idrisyeh, 3, 6.
Iliad, 53, 98.
Imausl (see Pamir), 245.
Imperialists, 33.
Inde (see India), 204-206, 261.
India, 1, 7, 11, 24, 73-76, 78, 79, 81-86, 93-95, 99-103, 180, 120, 121, 201, 204, 205, 207, 208, 237-239, 253.
Indians, 106, 201.

Indo-Greeks, 136.
Indo-Sassanian, 83.
Indo-Scythian, 186.
Indra, 78, 79, 82, 185.
Indus, 74, 76, 77, 99, 100, 106, 171n, 215.
Irak, 5, 149, 192.
Iran, 15, 24, 27, 31, 33, 47, 55—57, 61, 62, 65, 72, 75, 76, 77, 94, 101, 102, 113, 114, 120-123, 128, 129, 136, 139, 153-155, 162, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 208, 209, 223, 224, 241, 242, 244, 245, 252, 253.
Irânians, 27, 28, 65, 173, 241, 251.
Irân Shatra, 154.
Irâq (see Irak), 170.
Iredj (see Erach), 244.
Ireland, 54, 55, 65.
Irkham, 252n.
Irlande (see Ireland), 54.
Isaiah (Isaïe), 44.
Isis, 133.
Isfandiar (see Asfandiâr), 75, 103, 174.
Islam, 149.
Islâmâbâd, 104n.
Ismâilia, 6.
Ismâiliyeh, 3.
Ispahan, 3, 13, 18, 151, 160-162, 179.
Ispehbad, 164.
Israelites, 192.
Isthakher (son of Tehmuras), 175.
Isthakher (son of Keïomars), 175.
Isthakhri (Istakhri), 176, 202, 206, 207.
Istakhar (see Persepolis), 113, 120n, 151, 153-155, 175, 177.
Italy, 33.

Jackson (Prof.), 180, 181n, 248.
Jâdi Rânâ, 208, 213.
Jaê (see Gaê), 161.
Jagdalak, 264.
Jahari, 178.
Jâl, 102.
Jaladeo, 117.
Jalâlâbâd, 264.
Jalâl Kajer, 25.
Jaloca, 104.
Jam (see Jamshed), 153n, 184, 262.
Jâmâsp, 36.
Jamaspasana (Dastur Edalji), 18, 218, 220.
Jamaspji Minocheherji (Dastoor), 147, 148n, 179n, 185n, 186n, 187n, 189n, 190n-192n, 195n, 197n, 200n.
James Campbell, 83.
Jamhour, 86, 88, 102.
Jâmi Masjid, 206n, 207.
Jamrud, 262, 263.
Jamshed, 136, 153n, 169, 171, 175, 184, 262.
Jamshedi Naoroz, 262.
Janaca, 104.
Jandaruz, 202.
Jandel, 78.
Jandim Sabour, 199.
Jandrud, 206.
Janze, 180.
Japan, 148.
Jardin d' Ali, 264.
Jarthoshti Din-ni-Khol-Karnari Mandli, 223.
Jasranâbâd (see Khosrâbâd), 167.
Jaubert, 151n, 169n, 171n, 174n, 175n, 177n, 184n, 185n, 190n, 191n, 198n, 200n, 203n, 204n.
Jayana, 80.
Jayanta (see Gandharva), 80, 82.
Jazeereh (see Jezeereh), 150.
Jehan, 27.
Jehân-mumâê-Jâm, 262.
Jehudistân (see Yahoudieh), 162.
Jerrahi, 15.
Jerome (St.), 168.
Jerusal, 191.
Jerusalem, 151, 162, 191, 192.
Jews, 14, 156, 157, 159-162, 217, 248.
Jezdejird (see Yezdigird the Wicked), 159.
Jezeereh (see Mesopotamia), 172.
Jhelum, 99, 100.
Jonah, 193n.

Jonas, 193.
Jones (Commander F.), 5.
Jones (Sir W.), 85, 86, 92, 95, 98.
Joundi Sabour, 199.
Jour, 189.
Journal des Savants, 133.
Judas, 41.
Judaisme, 147n, 158n, 161n.
Junâsh, 193.
Junâshân, 193.
Jupiter, 36.
Jurâsh, 193.
Jurâshân, 193.
Justi (Prof.), 18, 100n, 147n, 181n, 184n, 197n, 218, 242, 248n.
Justinian, 169.

Ka, 137-139, 142.
Kaabah, 147, 200.
Kabul (Kavul), see Cabul, 101, 172, 261.
Kabulistân, 172, 242.
Kachh, 207, 215.
Kachh Sindân, 204.
Kachmir (see Kashmir).
Kaçyapa, 107.
Kaçyapapura, 107.
Kaikhosru, 53, 101, 153, 153n, 154, 164, 166, 167, 200, 245, 246, 262.
Kâin, 144, 166.
Kaisar of Rome (Roum), 21, 25, 26.
Kaisar bin-Tarâzâd, 172.
Kaitâbun, 26.
Kajârân, 188.
Kalba Karap, 109.
Kaleh-i-Dukhtar, 15.
Kaleh-i-Rustam, 15.
Kalila (Kalileh), 45, 93.
Kambâya (Kambaye) see Cambay, 202-206, 215.
Kâmuhul, 202.
Kanga (K. E.), 213.
Kanga (fortress), see Kangdez.
Kangdez, 253.
Kangha, 253n.
Kanishka, 136.
Kanoj (Kanouj), 74, 76, 77, 78, 80-82, 84, 102, 238.
Kaotchang, 252n.
Kara, 248.
Kard, 151.
Karkoê (fire), 172, 174, 186.
Kâr-Nâmeh, 170, 175, 175n, 176, 187-189.
Karsivaz, 27, 29, 30.
Karun, 2-6, 8-10, 14-21, 23, 160.
Kashaf, 107.
Kashmar (in Irân), 109, 110.
Kashmir (see Kashmar).
Kashmir (see Cashmere), 26, 86, 99, 107.
Kathai (Kathœi), 78, 109.
Kathiawar, 207.
Kaus, 26, 27, 30, 45, 47-50, 52, 54, 57, 59, 60, 108, 109, 151-153n, 155.
Kavi Usadhan (see Kaus). 26.
Kayanian (Kaiânian), 3, 23, 151.
Kayomars (Kaiomars), 155, 195, 196.
Kazeroun, 151, 175, 177, 180.
Keïanide (see Kyanian), 152.
Keï-Kaus (see Kaus), 152.
Keï-Kobad (see Kobad), 152.
Keïomars (see Kayomars), 175.
Kekobad (Dastur), 170, 170n, 219, 221, 253n.
Kelât, 164.
Kerakeram (see Karkoi), 172, 174, 186.
Kerdâr, 139.
Kereçâni, 123-125.
Kerkhah (see Choaspes), 15.
Kerm, 187-189.
Kermân (man), 187.
Kermân (town), 174, 175, 187-189.
Kermânshâh, 174, 175.
Kerm Haftwâd, 187.
Kerm Khodâê, 188.
Kerr Porter, (Sir Robert), 67-74, 81.
Ketâb-i-Sunun, 118.

Kha, 145.
Khaib, 137.
Khajrân (see Kazeroun), 151, 179 180.
Khâkân, 75, 79, 102, 245, 245n., 251, 254.
Khalifs (Abbaside), 7.
Khandeish, 83n.
Khang-Kia, 253n.
Khang-Kieu, 253.
Kharashk (Kharshak), 191, 192, 192n.
Kharâyast, 151, 164, 178.
Kharenenghaiti (see Karun), 1, 19-21.
Kharfastars, 43.
Kharreh-i-Ardashir, 176, 179.
Kharshak-i-Akar, 192.
Khashkar, 192.
Khâstra, 19.
Khâvar (see Dâhi), 150, 167, 214.
Khawaf, 209.
Knathaiti, 186.
Knight, 91n.
Khodâi-nâmeh, 222.
Khoraçân (see Khorasan), 252n.
Khorasan, 103, 109, 149, 150, 153, 155, 163-167, 198, 207, 209, 224, 251.
Khor Bamushir (see Bamushir), 3, 6.
Khordâd Yasht, 212n.
Khordeh Avesta, 253n.
Khoreh (see Karun), 18-21.
Khorreh-i-Ardashir, 176, 189, 189n.
Khorshed, 143.
Khorshedcheher, 253.
Khorshed Pâyâ (Khurshid Pâyak), 36, 232.
Khoshtanbujid, 118.
Khosrâbâd, 167.
Khosranabâd, 167.
Khosrandjird, 167.
Khosrew-Schah, 167.
Khosru, 167.
Khosru (Parthian), 167.
Khosru Kobad (see Noshirvân), 167.
Khosru Parviz, 30, 81, 82, 167.
Khoten, 76.
Khozistân (see Khujistân), 191.
Khshathra Vairya, 133, 135.
Khshatryas, 212.
Khu, 137.
Khujistân (Khuzistân) 6, 11-15n, 18, 151, 160, 178, 179, 191.
Khur (see Gour), 189.
Khurâê (see Khoreh), 18.
Khurbarân (see Khâvar), 150.
Khusrui, 149, 166.
Khusruv-gird (Khusruvjird), 166.
Khvaraê (see Khoreh), 18.
Khvarzem (see Khârezm), 149, 156, 178.
Khybre, 263.
Khybri, 263.
Kileh-i-Dukhtar, 3.
Kileh-i-Rustam, 13.
Kilsyâk (Kilisyâi) see Alexander, 124, 125.
Kinnier, 3, 8, 9, 14n, 18, 20, 149, 155, 155n, 163-165, 168, 168n, 169, 169n, 171, 173n, 174n, 184n-186n, 192, 192n, 215n.
Kird, 179, 180.
Kirman, 151, 251.
Kirouseh, 192.
Kisseh-i-Sanjân, 201, 207, 209, 213-215.
Kitabu-l-Masâlik wa-l-Mamâlik, 206.
Kobad, 151, 153, 180, 195.
Kobâd-i-Pirouzân, 179.
Kebad (son of Parviz), 81.
Kohendez, 164, 165.
Koh-i-Baba, 19.
Kohistân, 207.
Koh-Kéinu, 3.
Komis (see Koumis), 149.
Konkan, 203-207, 210, 211.
Kophen, 99.
Koraçan, 209.
Koran, 232.
Koreoh, 192, 192n.
Kouchan, 252n.
Koufah, 172.
Koumis, 166.

Koureh Ahwaz, 190.
Krebs (Mr. H.), 66.
Kubhâ, 99.
Kufa, 169.
Kuf-i-Chin, 248.
Kuh-i-Zerd, 18.
Kulang Dis, 184.
Kuling Dushit, 184.
Kunashne, 139, 140.
Kur (see Gour), 189.
Kuran (see Eulæus), 15.
Kureh-Ardeshir, 189n.
Kurrim Khân, 4.
Kuttâb, 117.
Kvirinta duzhita, 184.

Lahore, 19.
Lalitâditya, 106.
Lalpura, 263.
Lancâ, 98.
Latband, 264.
Larewi, 205n.
Layard (Sir Henry), 1-5, 13, 14, 17-19.
Leshker, 179.
Li-ts'inen, 250.
Lobthi, 187.
Logos, 117, 133.
Lohrânî, 215.
Lohrâsp, 25, 153n, 155, 163, 166, 251.
Long (Mr. G.), 17.
Longpériér, 236.
Louvre, 255.
Lucifer, 40, 41.
Lucylle, 97.
Lundi Kotal, 263.

Macedonian Conquest, 200.
Macedonians, 200, 200n.
Mâchin, 245.
Macmillan (Prof.), 98n, 241n.
Maçoudi, 113, 147, 149, 151, 152, 155, 157, 157n, 164-166, 169, 169n, 170, 170n, 172-175, 177, 178, 184, 184n, 186, 192-194n, 200, 200n, 202, 205, 205n, 207, 252n, 254.
Maddon (Mr George), 43.
Madigân-i-Chatrang, 91, 93-95.
Mafarian (see Nahr-i-Mahparyan), 21.
Magi, 115, 249, 254.
Magicians, 67.
Magreb, 148.
Mâh, 150, 171.
Mahâbhârata, 53, 99, 105, 203.
Mahadeo, 107.
Mahâïn, 171.
Mahâmandlésvara, 210, 211.
Mâhân, 206n.
Mâhâ-Payân, 36, 232.
Mâh-el-Basrah (see Nehâvand), 171.
Mâh-el-Kaufah, 171.
Mahomed, 148, 218.
Mahomed Ali Mirza, 22.
Mahomedans, 14, 35n.
Mâi, 86-89.
Malabar, 216.
Malcolm (Sir John), 9, 10, 68-72, 145n, 157, 160n, 178, 184.
Malcolm (M. Joseph), 256, 259.
Malet (Mr.), 5.
Malikân-Malik, 172.
Malva, 83, 84.
Manchester, 218.
Manès (see Mani), 252n.
Mani, 250.
Manibar, 216.
Mânizen, 166.
Mankir, 205n.
Mansour-bin-Badân, 162.
Manichœan, 249, 250, 252n.
Manushcheher, 186, 222, 251, 252.
Manzar, 30, 70, 71.
Maracanda (see Samarcand), 195.
Mardân-i-Kârzâr (see Mukatel), 117.
Marg, 88, 89.
Marha'ttas, 82.
Marichi, 107.

Mars, 36.
Marte Charles, 36.
Marutha Bishop), 158.
Maruv-al-rud, 162.
Marv-rud, 162.
Marzbân, 170.
Mar-zutra, 159.
Mashad (see Meshed and Tus), 149.
Mathias, 32.
Mati (see Amittai), 193.
Maulana Ali, 251.
Maulana Shaikh, 251.
Mawaralnahar, 50.
Max Müller, 111 218.
Mazda-worshippers, 101.
Mazdayaçnan religion, 249, 250.
Mazdayaçnans, 32, 38, 119, 257.
Mazdeism (Mazdéisme), 136, 241.
Mazindaran, 108, 150.
Mecca (Mecah), 150, 172, 201.
Meccan, 164n, 197n.
Medaïn, 168.
Medes, 171.
Media, 14, 180, 181.
Media Greater, 200n.
Media Phagina, 181.
Media Proper, 181.
Medineh (Medina), 150, 172.
Meher Dâvar, 98, 105, 139, 141-143.
Meherek Noushzâd, 30, 170.
Meimon, 202.
Mekrân, 253n.
Menant (M. Joachim), 106n.
Mer Caspienue, 243.
Mercury, 36, 169.
Mer noire, 243.
Merodach, 96.
Meru, 79.
Meruv, 149, 162.
Merv-al-rud, 162.
Meruv-rud, 149, 162.
Merv, 109, 149, 162, 167.
Merv Shâhjân, 163.
Merw, 209.
Meschcd (see Mashad), 164.
Meshed (see Mashad), 150n, 197.
Meshed Ali, 169.
Mesopotamia, 6, 17, 127, 128, 150, 158, 170-172.
Mesrakan (see Khoreh), 19.
Mihir Cula, 105.
Mihirapur, 105.
Mihiriswara, 105.
Mills (Dr.), 124, 136.
Minocheher, 107, 153n, 172, 174, 186.
Minokherad, 135, 140, 141, 143, 174, 186, 186n, 218, 228n.
Minos, 36.
Mirkhond, 25, 78, 155, 155n, 157, 162 162n, 166, 174, 174n, 175, 177, 177n, 178, 190, 195, 96.
Mirkhul (see Mihir Cula), 105.
Misr (see Egypt), 148.
Mithra (Mithras), see Meher, 36, 105, 143.
Mitrok-i-Anushé Pâtân, 170.
Mitrozâd, 170.
Mlech'has, 105.
Modi, J. J., 218n.
Mohammerah, 3-6.
Mohl, 11, 24-28, 30, 46n, 54, 65, 66n, 77n, 81n, 84, 90, 101n-104n, 152n, 160n-163n, 165, 165n, 170n, 174n-178n, 182, 184n, 187n-189n, 191n, 197n, 221, 237, 239, 243, 245n, 253n, 254n, 255, 261, 262.
Mohreh, 55, 57.
Mohsan Fani, 110.
Mondhir 240.
Mo-ni-enne, 249, 250.
Moon, 36.
Mordecai, 171.
Mosul, 150.
Mountain of Sepultures, 67.
Mousul, 171.
Muchircân, 179.
Mudjmel-al-Tavârikh, 175n.
Muhanâ, 117.
Mukâtel, 117.
Multân, 78, 202, 206.
Mustofi, 171.
Muzafferâbâd, 109.

Nabânazdishta, 187.
Naê, 198.
Naê Shapur (see Nih Shâpoor), 198.
Nahardea, 159.
Nâhar Tira (-Tiri), 178.
Nâhar Tirak, 151, 200.
Naharwan, 5.
Nahr-i-Mahaparyan, 21.
Nahr-i-Masrukan, 15, 19, 21.
Nahr-i-Tuster, 21.
Nakhsh-i-Rustam, 67, 70, 72-74.
Namân, 70.
Nâmeh-Khusruân, 25n.
Nân, 74.
Naodar (Navdar), 164, 197.
Naoise, 54.
Nard, 95.
Narimân, 63, 167, 197.
Narsi, 166.
Nastur, 173.
Nathan, 159, 160.
Naunghaitya, 135.
Naval Kishore, 128, 155n, 157n, 162n, 174n, 175n, 177n, 195n.
Navasari (Navsari), 209n.
Nearchus, 2.
Nebuchadnezzer, 162.
Neh, 198.
Nehâvand, 150, 171, 179, 199, 207.
Nejiff, 169.
Neo-Platonists, 133-135.
Neo-Platonism, 133-135.
Neo-Shâpuhar, 164
Nero, 114.
Neryosang, 228n.
Nestihan, 27.
Nestorianisme, 248.
New Ardashir (see Yazdshir), 175.
New England, 209.
New Sari, 209n.
New York, 209.
Niçabour, 165, 198, 209.
Nih, 165.
Nih-Shâpur, 165, 198.
Nile, 90.
Nimrod, 184.
Nimroze (see Nimruz), 186.
Nimruz (Nimrouz), see Seistân, 150, 172.
Ninav (see Nineveh), 151, 180, 192.
Ninav (Man), 192, 193.
Ninavi, 193.
Ninav-i-Jurâshân, 199.
Nineveh, 151, 180, 192, 193.
Ninus, 180, 192.
Nirang Kusti, 129.
Nischâvour, 176.
Nischawer, 176.
Nishâpur (Nishâpour), 32, 149, 164-167, 198, 199, 209.
Nisib, 165.
Nist-Shâpour, 199.
Niv-Shâpuhar (see Nishâpur), 149
Nizehvar, 156.
Noah, 136, 171, 187, 199.
Nöldeke, 175n, 187n, 189n.
Nomân, 170.
Norman Conquest, 85.
Nosh Dâru, 57.
Noshirvân, 5, 85, 86n, 93, 94, 102, 167-69, 180, 195, 254.
Nouh-âwand, (Nuh-âvand), see Nehâvand, 171, 199.
Noura, 210.
Nourouz, 262.
Novâzak, 155, 155n.
Nowayri, 195.
Nowohor (see Noura), 210.
Nowsaree, 209n.
Nusaripa, 209n.
Nuwâzi, 155n.

Odenathus, 165n.
Œdipus, 66.
O' Halloran, 54.
Oharmazd (see Ahwaz), 151.
Oharmazd (King), 177, 178.
Oharmazd Artashirân, 177.
Old Testament, 2, 14, 15, 21, 159, 193n.

Olshausen, 221.
Oojen, 81.
Oppert, 127.
Ordeal by fire, 49, 51.
Orient, 152.
Oriental College (Lahore), 19.
Oriental Geography, 154, 154n, 160n, 162n-164n, 166n, 168n, 169n, 171n, 173n, 174n, 176n-180n, 182, 184n, 185n, 189n-191n, 200n.
Origin of the Psalter, 141, 217, 218n.
Orodes, 168.
Oromasdes, 130, 133, 134.
Osirian Cycle, 144n.
Osiris, 133, 137, 143.
Ossuaries (see Astodân), 145.
Oudypoor (Oudipoor), 82.
Oujein, 82.
Oujon, 81.
Ousley (Sir William), 8, 9, 73, 74, 109, 110, 149n, 154n, 162n-164n, 166n, 168n, 169n, 171n, 173n-180n, 182, 184n, 185n, 189n-191n, 195n, 197, 200n, 202, 202n, 203, 203n, 207n, 215n.
Outre-Tombe, 218.
Oxus, 149.

Pacoras, 168.
Pactyice (Pactyica), 106.
Padashkhvârgar (Patashkhvârgar), 150, 186.
Pahlavi Commentators, 99, 100.
Pahlavi Pazend Glossary, 114, 119, 119n, 190, 233n.
Pahlizak Tur, 165, 165n.
Pamir, 245.
Pandits, 80, 102, 103, 107.
Panjaub, 99.
Panjnaddy, 99.
Paoiryô-tkaêsa (Pôryotkes), 114, 115, 220.
Pâpak, 114.
Paradise, 33, 34, 36-38.
Paradise (of Dante), 36-38.
Paris (city), 261.
Paris (person), 53, 98.
Parmenides, 132.
Parrah (See Fâryâb), 173.
Pârs, 151, 155, 176, 188, 251.
Parsees, 2, 18, 23, 74, 166, 201, 207-209n, 212-215, 224, 241, 251, 255, 256.
Parsikân (see Parsees), 224.
Parthian dynasty, 2, 6, 23, 24, 113, 123, 127-130, 168, 247.
Parthians, 166, 168, 172.
Parushani (see Râvi), 99.
Pasargadæ (see Shaspigân), 154.
Pashang (Pasheng), 164, 197.
Pasitigris, 15, 21.
Pater Noster, 19n.
Pât-Khusrob, 179.
Paul, 34.
Pavet de Courteille, 118n, 194n.
Pawn, 22.
Pecorus, 167.
Pêjehkiar (see Bazêhgar), 157.
Percival, 170, 170n, 194, 194n, 195.
Persan, 197.
Perse (see Persia), 25n, 71n, 78n, 197, 249, 250, 255, 256, 261, 262.
Perses (see Persians), 256, 259.
Persia, 1, 4-6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16-18, 20, 23, 24, 38, 68n, 71, 72, 77-79, 81-85, 91, 93, 95, 100, 101, 104, 106, 111-113, 124, 145, 148, 149, 151, 152, 156, 158, 160, 165, 167, 172, 174, 194, 208, 209, 209n, 224, 235, 237, 238, 249-251, 253n, 254, 254n.
Persian Empire, 2, 105, 113.
Persians, 8, 16, 23, 26, 53, 56, 85, 92, 99, 103, 104, 107-109, 120, 130, 133, 134, 137, 138, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 151, 152, 160.
Persepolis, 2, 112, 151, 153.
Peshâwar, 261.
Peshdâdian, 9, 126, 262.
Pesyânsâi (see Peshin), 101.
Peterson, P., 99.

Petit, D. M., 255.
Pettigrew, 144, 144n.
Philip, 161n.
Philo Judæus, (Philon), 133, 135.
Philometer, 96, 98.
Pichaver, 261-263.
Pinkerton, 72.
Pirâu, 27, 102.
Piroz-i- Shâpoor (City), 171.
Piroz-i-Shâpurân, 171.
Piroz III., 250.
Plato, 131, 132, 134, 247.
Platonic sect, 113.
Pliny, 105, 112, 173, 154.
Plumptre (Dr.), 34n, 40.
Plutarch, 130, 133-135.
Polo, 26, 28, 29.
Pope (J. A.), 43.
Popular Tales, 45.
Porus, 86.
Poulâd, 27.
Poûrûshasp, 182.
Prayer Book, 119.
Primum Mobile, 36.
Prince's Band, 22.
Prince of the Captivity, 159.
Prinsep, 82.
Procopius, 158, 169.
Ptolemy (Ptolomée), 100, 185, 209n, 242.
Pul-i-Kaisar, 21.
Pumbeditha, 159.
Purândokht, 161.
Purgatory, 33, 34, 36.
Purgatory (of Dante), 35, 36.
Purohitas, 210.
Pushen (Pusheng), 149, 163, 164.
Pusheng (see Shideh), 197.

Raçdâr, 118.
Râdhâcânt, 92.
Râdjatarangini, 99, 102, 105, 106.
Raê, 182.
Raêbad, 173.
Ragha, 181, 182.
Ragoonath Mandir, 104n.
Rai, 181 (see Ragha).
Rakhsh, 108.
Râm, 143.
Râma, 98.
Râmalochan (Pundit), 210, 211.
Râman, 171.
Râmâyan, 53, 98.
Râm Hormuz, 2, 6, 23, 178.
Râm Oharmazd, 151, 177.
Rashna (Rashnê), 143, 225.
Rastam (see Rustam), 261.
Rat'h, 92.
Rathaêshtâr, 117.
Rauzat-us-Safa, 177n.
Râvad, 150, 173.
Râvak, 117.
Râvan, 53, 98.
Ravân, 139, 142.
Ravendeh, 171.
Ravi, 98, 99.
Rawlinson (Sir Henry), 14-16, 18, 105n, 127, 157, 158n, 160, 183n.
Rebât (see Râvad) 150, 173.
Rebât Firouzâbâd, 173.
Rehâm, 173.
Rehbar-i-Din-i-Zarthoshti, 110.
Rei, 167.
Reinaud, 169n, 202n.
Reliques of Irish Poetry, 54.
Renan (M. Ernest), 261.
Resh, 156.
Resh Galutha (Resh Galatak), 156, 157, 159, 160.
Resh Kalla, 156.
Resh Lakish, 156.
Resh Metibta, 156.
Resurrection, 144, 145.
Revâyet, 207n, 208n, 220, 221, 231n.
Revue des Etudes Juives, 147, 158n, 161n.
Riley, 112n, 154n.
Robinson (J. H.), 235.
Rogers (Mr. A.), 45, 46.

Rokh, 92.
Romans, 7, 146, 200.
Roman Empire, 242.
Rome, 11, 114, 158, 164, 168.
Rook (see Castle), 91, 92.
Rot'h, 93.
Roudâbeh, 254.
Rouin, 27.
Roum, 25, 70, 243.
Royal Asiatic Society, 183n.
R. G. S. (Journal), 1n, 3n, 14n-18n, 150n.
Ruggieri (Archbishop), 41.
Ruin Dez, 253.
Rum (see Sairima), 244.
Rustam (Rustem), 15, 30, 47, 49, 50, 53, 55—65, 101, 103, 104, 104n, 108, 109, 172, 173, 261.
Rustam (General), 171.
Rustamgiri, 104n.

Saad Wakhas, 171.
Sabour el Djunoud (see Shapur I.), 178.
Sabour Khvâst, 179, 199.
Sachan, 156n.
Sacred Books of the East, 101n, 112n, 115n, 119, 119n, 124, 125, 127, 128n, 131, 134—136n, 145, 147n, 148, 148n, 152n, 169n, 174, 179n, 181n, 182n, 184n, 186n, 195n, 213n, 218, 219n, 221, 224n, 225n, 226n, 243n, 244n, 247, 248n, 251n, 252n, 253n.
Sadarvan, 21.
Sadasu (see Shangel), 102.
Sadasvasena (see Sundersena), 80.
Saddar, 101, 213, 251n.
Saena Ahum Studân (—Stuto), 122.
Sahû, 137.
Sâimûr, 202, 203, 206.
Sâini, 128, 241—244, 246, 247.
Sairima, 128, 242, 244.
Saklab (see Slavs), 76.
Sakhem, 137.
Salivahana, 78
Salsette, 210.
Samangân, 55, 57.
Samar, 151, 193—195.
Samarcand (Samarkand), 149, 151—155, 193—195, 243.
Samargird (see Samarcand), 193.
Sâm Narimân, 63, 107.
Sandal, 78.
Sandan (see Sindân), 107.
Sandarz, 202.
Sandhav, 204.
Sangala (see Shangel), 78.
Sangel (Sankel), see Shangel.
Sangama (see Sanjan), 215.
Sanjan, 201, 203-209, 211, 214, 215.
Sanjana Behman, K. H., 201.
Sanjana Edalji (Dastur), 213.
Sanjana Peshotan (Dastur), 93, 94n, 160n.
Saon, 242.
Saoshyant, 145, 259, 260.
Sapor (father of Behrâm IV.), 74.
Sarakhs, 251, 252.
Saram (see Sairima), 244.
Sarandip, 203.
Sari, 209n.
Sarita, 109.
Sarpâraka (Surpâraka), 203.
Sârsar (Sarsar), 168.
Sarsûr, 150.
Sarv, 179, 191.
Sarvân, 191.
Sassan, 115.
Sassanian Dynasty, 2, 5, 23, 52, 67, 67n, 68, 82, 95n, 112, 123, 156, 247, 254.
Sassanians, 2, 3, 15, 72, 73, 84, 111, 165, 224, 236.
Sasur, 150.
Satisarus, 107.
Satadhru (Satadru), see Sutlej, 99.
Satan, 40, 41.
Sâtirun, 167.
Satrapy, 105.
Saturn, 36.
Saurâshtra, 82, 88.

Saurva, 135.
Savalân (see Sebilan), 181.
Savrân, 191.
Scandinavians, 35.
Schâd Khosru Mustâvâd, 167.
Schamar(Schamr), see Samar, 151, 193.
Scotland, 54.
Scylax, 106.
Sebilân, 181.
Seidan, 202, 203.
Seïmour (see Saimur), 205n.
Seistân 19, 149, 150, 150n. 172-174, 184-186.
Sekhem, 142.
Selam (Selm), 243, 244.
Selby (Lieut.), 1,3,5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16-19.
Seleucia, 158, 168.
Sem, 171.
Semirân, 179, 191.
Sendan, 304n, 205.
Sendjân, 209.
Seneque, 97.
Sepahbad, 164.
Sépêos, 157n.
Sepihnoud (Sepinud), 72-74, 77, 78, 81, 84.
Septa Sindhu, (see Hapta Hindu), 99, 215.
Seraphi, 109.
Seres, 244, 245.
Setar-pâyak, 232.
Seven Wise Masters, 45.
Shadi Baktyar, 263.
Shagâd, 102, 104n.
Shahârastani. 181.
Shah-king, 96.
Shah-Nâmeh, 9, 23, 30, 45, 47, 49-55, 59, 71, 74, 79, 80, 101-103, 107, 126, 151, 162, 164n, 170, 172, 173, 184, 188, 191, 197, 197n, 243-245, 253, 255, 262.
Shâhpuhar (see Shapur II.), 119.
Shâh Shetra, 9.
Shaikh Haji Mahmad, 251.
Shaikh Maulana, 251.
Shaikh Suliman, 4.
Shâm, 147, 148, 172, 185, 199, 200.
Shangel (Shankel), 74-78, 80, 81, 84, 102, 237.
Shapigân, 112, 114, 119, 120. 152.
Shapur (Shapoor) I., 2, 7-11, 15, 21, 24, 25, 30, 111, 113, 121, 123, 160, 161, 164-166, 170, 175, 178, 179, 198.
Shapur II., 30, 32, 113, 160, 165, 172, 176, 177, 198, 199, 222.
Shapur (Sapur) city, 79, 175, 177.
Shapur (of Yazdagard), 166.
Shapur al Acbar, (see Shapur I.), 170.
Shapur Zolaktâf (see Shapur II.), 5, 119, 171.
Shapurgird, 178, 193.
Shaspigân, 152-155.
Shat-al-Arab, 3-6.
Shatranj, 95, 96.
Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, 147, 183, 185-187, 190-192, 195, 197.
Shatsbashthi (see Salsette), 210.
Shaui, 86.
Shâyast lâ- Shâyast, 248, 248n.
Shea, 110n, 155n, 164n, 195n, 197n.
Shideh, 27, 163, 197.
Shin, 243.
Shiraz, 68, 151, 175, 180.
Shiroyeh (see Kobad), 81.
Shishin, 161.
Shishin-dokht, 157, 159-161.
Shinagar, 104n.
Shus, 151, 160, 161, 178.
Shusan; 14, 160, 161.
Shushan, 2, 14, 15, 161.
Shuster (see Susa), 1-3, 6, 8-11, 13-16, 21, 22, 151, 160, 161, 178.
Siâvash, 26-30, 45, 47-52, 54, 151-153, 253.
Sifkân, 167, 168, 183.
Sikandar (see Alexander), 153.
Silhârâ (Silâra), 201, 209-211, 213, 214,
Silvestre de Sacy, 25n, 78n, 157n, 162n, 163, 163n, 174n, 175, 175n, 177n, 190n, 197.
Simeon, 156.
Simlân (Simrân), 151, 179, 191.

Simonists, 42.
Sind, 74, 76, 78, 203, 205n, 206.
Sindân, 201-207, 215, 216.
Sindân Konkan, 207.
Sindhu (see Indus), 99, 100.
Sindhustân (see India), 100.
Sindibâd, 45-47, 49.
Sindibâd Nâmeh, 45, 46, 49-52, 54.
Sindokht, 254.
Sin (Sinæ) (see Sâini), 241, 246, 248.
Sini, 243, 247.
Sinik, 248.
Sirat (see Chinvat), 35.
Sirius, 134.
Sirkhan, 251.
Sistân Outer, 150.
Sistân Proper, 150, 173.
Sitâ, 53, 98.
Slave, 169n.
Slavs (see Saklab), 76.
Smyrna, 133.
Soana, 242.
Soanes, 242.
Sobla, 4.
Société Asiatique, 261.
Sogdha, 105.
Sogdiana, 105, 148, 153, 195.
Sogdians, 105.
Sogdo, 152.
Soghdiane (see Sogdiana), 194.
Sohrâb, 53-57, 60-65.
Somnât, 215.
Sonbârâ, 204, 204n.
Sonfareh (Sonfaloh), 205.
Sonq-el-Ahwaz, 190.
Sopârâ, 203, 204, 206, 207.
Sopârâ (of Konkan), 207.
Sora, 159.
Soubareh, 205n.
Soudabeh, 45, 48-52, 54.
Sou-li-tche, 249.
Sourbah (see Sâbâra), 203.
Spain, 85.
Spendadâd (see Asfandiâr), 172.
Spenta Armaiti, 135.
Spenta Mainyu, 134.
Spiegel, 99n, 100, 118, 124, 127, 179n, 181n, 213, 225n, 226n, 242.
Sraosh, 34, 38, 39, 143.
Sri Bhabhana Sreshthi, 211.
Sri Sthânaca, 210.
Stâkhar (see Istakhar), 151, 175.
Stâkhar-i-Pâpakân, 153.
Stein (Prof.), 19.
Strabo (Strabon), 180, 200, 200n, 242.
Sualthach, 54.
Subâra, 202-204, 206n, 207, 216.
Suez, 106.
Suez Canal, 106n.
Sûfâra (Sûfâla), 206n, 207, 215.
Sufâreh, 205.
Sugdha, 195.
Sun, 36.
Sundersena, 81.
Sûrabâya, 206.
Surak (see Sogdiana), 148.
Surat, 216.
Surbârah, 202.
Surendra, 103, 104.
Suria, 147.
Sûristân (see Shâm), 147, 148.
Sûs, 15.
Susa (see Shustar), 2, 13-15, 17, 160.
Susan, 14, 15, 160, 161.
Susiana, 14, 15.
Susiane, 71n.
Sutlej, 99.
Syria, 147, 173, 185, 199, 200.

Tabari, 71, 78, 79n, 128, 149, 151, 152, 155, 155n, 157, 157n, 160, 163n-166, 170-177n, 180, 185, 185n, 192-195n.
Tabeh, 205n.
Tabristân (Tabaristân), 111, 113-117, 121, 150, 152n, 164, 166, 182.
Tahia, 242.
Tahmuras (see Taimuras), 175, 184.
Taimur, 2, 21.
Taimuras, 155, 165.
Takhma Urupa (see Taimuras), 184.

Takhtaritus, 93.
Takht-i-Solomon, 104n.
Talâk, 8.
Talhend, 86—89, 93.
Tamar, 194.
Tamra-sena, 78.
Tâna, 215, 216.
Tanbuk, 177.
T'ang, 249.
Tanpak, 177.
Tansar, 111—118, 120—123, 126, 127, 129, 130, 152n, 154, 247.
Taosar (see Tansar), 112, 114, 115, 184.
Tarikh-i-Guzideh, 187
Tarshiz, 109.
Ta-ts'in, 249.
Taylor, 132.
Tâz, 126, 179.
Tazi (see Arabs), 126.
Tâzikans, 224.
Tâziks (see Arabs), 126, 148.
Tchandrabhâga (see Chenaub), 99.
Tohemina, 15, 55, 57.
Tehmuras (see Taimuras and Tahmuras), 198.
Tehmuras D. Anklesaria, 109, 148n, 213, 219, 252n.
Telang, K. T., 201n, 211, 211n, 212.
Tevishi, 142.
Thahomers (see Taimuras), 165.
Thaïsfoun (see Ctesiphon), 167.
Thana, 201, 201n, 210.
Theodaret, 158.
Theodosius (Younger), 158.
Thomas (E.), 72, 82n, 155n.
Thomas Aquinas, 36.
Thoth, 143.
Thrâyavana (see Âthravan), 212, 213.
Thsin, 246, 246n.
Thsin Valley, 247
Tigris, 4—6, 18, 126, 128, 168, 171n.
Tira, 200.
Tiri, 179.
Tiridates, 114, 172.
Tishtryā, 184.
Tobba Abon Karib, 151, 193.
Tobba-el-Acbar (Toba-el-Akbar), 151, 195n.
Tora-Karp, 200.
Tous-i-Sifkan (see Ctesiphon), 168, 183.
Tousphon (see Ctesiphon), 167.
Touj, 151.
Touje, 177.
Tous (see Tus), 167, 168, 183.
Tower of Silence, 226n.
Transoxania, 50, 182.
Travels in Persia, 78n, 79n, 81n, 109n, 110n, 155n, 175n, 180n.
Troy (Troye), 98.
Troyer (Mr.), 99, 102, 105, 110n, 164n, 197n.
Tsin, 246n.
Tsoo, 246n.
Tsong-Tch'onk'o, 250.
Tubba'h Abu Kurrub, 128.
Tughazghaz, 252, 252n.
Tuirya, 244.
Tûlîshar, 215.
Tur, 191, 243, 244.
Turân, 55, 57; 61, 101, 102, 128, 132, 164, 191, 237, 244, 245, 258.
Turânians, 27, 28, 102, 128, 173.
Turkestân, 79, 173, 242, 245, 248.
Turkey, 4, 148.
Turkish Dominions, 6.
Turks, 62, 121.
Tus (hero), 164, 197.
Tus (city) 149, 164, 197.
Tusfoun (see Ctesiphon), 183.
Tus-i-Râvak-i-Sifkân, 183.

Ugolino (Count), 41.
Uisneach, 54.
Ujjain, 88.
Ujjayini (see Oojen), 81.
Ulai, 14.
Ulia, 21.
Ulster, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60.

Unvala, M. R., 207n, 208n, 214n, 250.
Underworld, 139, 141.
Urvadha, 19.
Urxâna, 138, 192.
Ushidâo, 19, 20.
Ushidarena, 181.
Ushidhân, 19.
Ustavaiti, 19.

Vaçtrya, 117.
Vaêkerêta (see Seistân), 185, 186.
Vahârâm-âvand, 150, 171.
Vâhrâm Shâd, 223.
Vahraran, 68.
Vaishyas, 212.
Vakhshâpur, 118.
Valerian, 2, 7, 9, 10, 21, 24, 160, 164, 165n.
Valkhash (see Vologeses I.), 112—114, 121—123, 130, 133, 186, 247.
Valley of the Nile, 146.
Vandu, 178.
Vandu-i-Shâpuhar, 151, 164, 178, 199.
Varanes III., 174.
Varanes (Behram IV.), 174.
Vardanis, 168.
Varharân (see Behrâm), 80.
Vâspur, 263.
Vataylles, 98.
Vazra, 143.
Vedas, 99, 100.
Veh, 151, 179.
Veh-Artashir, 151, 175.
Vêh-Shâpur, 176.
Vendidad, 43, 99, 99n, 105, 111n, 114, 115n, 118, 119, 122, 135, 136, 140, 142, 155, 163, 179, 179n, 181, 182, 185, 185n, 186, 195n, 196n, 197, 217, 218, 220, 225n, 226n, 242, 256, 258.
Venus, 86.
Verethragna, 80.
Vesudhva, 102.
Vicrama, 79, 83.
Vicramâditya (see Gadhia), 78, 79, 83.
Vierge, 92.
Vin-i-Artashir (see Nard), 95n.
Vipâs, 99.
Vipasa, 99.
Virâf (see Ardâi-Virâf), 32—44.
Virâf-Nâmeh, 31, 32, 43, 43n, 112n, 124, 125, 140, 141, 143, 154, 228n, 229n.
Virgil, 34, 35.
Virgin (Blessed), 37, 38.
Vishnu, 107.
Vishnusarman, 85.
Vish-Shâpuhar, 151, 164, 175, 176.
Vishtâsp (Vistâçpa), 20, 36, 38, 129, 152, 153, 153n, 185.
Vishtâsp Yasht, 139, 218.
Vitastâ (see Jhelum), 99, 100.
Vîzarîsh, 22.
Vohumano, 133.
Vologeses I. (see Valkhash), 112, 113, 123.
Vuller, 46n, 58n, 59n, 61n—63n, 65n, 107n, 110n.
Vyâsa, 92.

Waïs, 3.
Wakiat-i-Cashmir, 107.
Wâng, 251.
Waterloo, 23.
Weis, 8.
Wei-lu-wang, 251.
Wellington (Duke), 23.
West, 45, 54, 65, 148, 167, 253n.
West (Dr.), 18, 18n, 19n, 100n, 101, 112n—114n, 119, 124, 125, 131, 145, 148n, 152, 152n, 169n, 179n, 181n, 182n, 184n, 186n, 195n, 213n, 218—226n, 243, 247, 248, 248n, 251n, 253n.
Westergaard, 18n, 128, 258.
Western Isle, 54.
Wiedmann (Dr.), 137—139, 141—146.
Wilford, 78—83.
Wilkinson, 145, 145n.

Wilson, 102-107.
Windischmann (Dr.), 218, 243.
Wogho (see Chinvat), 35.
Wolff (Sir H. D.), 1.
World, 33.

Xa, 145.
Xerxes, 105.

Yaçna, 137, 138, 142, 217.
Yafet, 187.
Yahoudeh (see Ispahân), 161, 162.
Yahoudgân (see Jews), 156.
Yahoudgân Shâh, 156, 159.
Yakout, 155, 162, 163, 166, 166n, 167, 167n, 168, 173, 175, 175n, 177n;179n, 180, 187, 190, 199, 200.
Yama, 136.
Yaman (see Yemen), 200.
Yazdagard I.
Yazdagard of Shâpuhar
Yazdagard-i-Bazêhgar
Yazdegird (father of Behrâm Gour), 79, 80, 157—160, 162, 167, 170, 171.
Yazdagard (last), 103, 106, 171, 207, 234, 249n.
Yazads, 231.
Yazatas, 134, 136, 138, 143, 226.
Yazdashir, 175.
Yemen, 128, 147, 148, 151, 170, 172, 179, 195.
Yesdejird (son of Behrâm Gour), 79, 83.
Yezdagard (father of Shâpur), 166.
Yima, 184.
Yima Khshaeta, 184.
Yogis, 78.
Yudân-Yim (see Goshn-Jam), 223.
Yudhishthira, 53, 92.
Yue-chi, 254.
Yuras, 180.

Zab, 5.
Zabool, 58.
Zaboulistân, 47, 56, 58, 172, 173.
Zâd-Sparam, 174, 221, 251.
Zainigau, 127, 128.
Zamyâd Yasht, 19, 127, 259.
Zand, 113, 114.
Zandic (see Zendic).
Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht, 219, 253n.
Zand Pahlavi Glossary, 152n, 153, 153n, 230n.
Zangharis, 224.
Zangis, 223.
Zanzibar, 223, 224.
Zarang (see Dooshak), 150, 185.
Zaranga, 185.
Zaranj, 174, 185.
Zarathusht,
Zarathushtra, Spitâmân, 52, 74, 182, 217, 249.
Zardah Koh, 3.
Zarenj, 186, 187.
Zarenumaiti, 19.
Zarinji, 185.
Zarir, 185.
Zarthosht (son of Aderbâd), 223.
Zarthosht Nâmeh, 109, 203.
Zarzad,
Zarzaj,
Zarzak, see Duzako, 186, 187.
Zavoul (Zaboul), 173.
Zavulastân (see Zaboulistân), 150.
Zendak-i-purmarg (see Ahriman), 182.
Zend Avesta, 111n, 119, 120, 127, 129n, 184n, 241n—243n, 247.
Zendic, 182n, 248.
Zindeh Rud, 3.
Zinet-el-Medjalis, 175.
Zing-i-Siâk Pôsht, 223.
Zin-rud, 3.
Zizan, 166.
Zohâk (see Azi Dahaka), 127, 128, 153n, 169, 183, 184.
Zoroaster, 36, 38, 110, 112, 122, 123, 129, 144n, 152, 153, 156, 180—182, 221, 247—249, 251, 253, 256.

Zoroastrian Religion, } 74, 105, 112,
Zoroastrianism, } 121, 123, 125,
131, 133, 135, 136, 173, 248, 250.
Zoroastrians, 43, 134, 144, 144u, 158,
249n, 251, 252n.
Zotenburg, 71n, 78n, 79n, 128n, 149,
151n, 156n, 157n, 160n, 163n, 165n,
169n, 170, 170n, 173n, 174n, 176n,
177n, 178n, 185n, 192n—195n.
Zrayangha Spento Khratowao, 246.

Addenda et Corrigenda.

Page	II.,	line	21,	*for*	un	*read*	une.
„	II.	„	19	„	etapes	„	étapes.
„	II.	„	20	„	Nouvembre	„	Novembre.
„	II.	„	21	„	Serie	„	Série.
„	1	„	1	*omit*	President.		
„	7	„	17	*for*	Edressa	„	Edessa.
„	11	„	15	„	Ahrimnani	„	Ahrimani.
„	15	„	6 & 10	„	Kuran	„	Karun.
„	16	„	27	„	quite	„	quiet.
„	18	„	34	„	Karitùnand	„	Karîtûnand.
„	20	„	18	„	Kharennghaiti	„	Kharenanghaiti.
„	71	„	38	„	favourite	„	favorite.
„	88	„	15	„	Advioed	„	Advised.
„	90	„	29	„	Solder	„	Soldier.
„	95	„	25	„	Shtranj	„	Shatranj.
„	98	„	23	„	Illiad	„	Iliad.
„	113	„	24	„	detail	„	detailed.
„	120	„	2	„	reunir	„	réunir.
„	125	„	34	„	a	„	an.
„	126	„	37	„	a	„	an.
„	134	„	39	„	olny	„	only.
„	135	„	11	„	greqne	„	grecque.
„	135	„	12	„	juivs	„	juifs.
„	140	„	18	„	immorta	„	immortal.
„	141	„	5	„	Foster	„	Dastur.
„	143	„	20	„	Annubis	„	Anubis.
„	143	„	29	„	Superintents	„	Superintends.
„	143n	„	4	*omit*	of.		
„	153	„	12	*for*	Zorirân	„	Zarirân.
„	163	„	12	„	à	„	a.
„	165	„	15	„	piqúe	„	piqué.
„	167	„	18	„	Macoudi	„	Maçoudi.
„	178	„	17		سابو		سابور
„	182	„	24	„	plendour	„	splendour.
„	183	„	28	„	sshe	„	she.
„	183n	„	1	„	Aiyâdgâi	„	Aiyâdgâr.
„	185	„	20	„	Mahomedanl	„	Mahomedan.
„	185	„	21	„	Orienta	„	Oriental.
„	195n	„	3	„	Acrab	„	Acbar.
„	197	„	25	„	Afrâsiâbn	„	Afrâsiâb.
„	200	„	22	„	personaee	„	personage.

11 W

Y/

6755

1417

Page	200,	line	23,	*for*	Shatrôitrâ,	*read*	Shatrôihâ.
„	200n	„	5	„	Strobo	„	Strabo.
„	204n	„	2 & 9	„	Joubert	„	Jaubert.
„	205	„	9	„	qoe ue	„	ce que.
„	207	„	24	„	Yozdajisd	„	Yezdajird.
„	207n	„	4	„	Dôráb	„	Dârâb.
„	215	„	26	„	bârdrûd	„	Bârdrûd.
„	220	„	16	„	angles	„	angels.
„	221n	„	6	„	maning	„	naming.
„	221n	„	14	„	La second	„	Le second.
„	222	„	21		[illegible]		[illegible]
„	223	„	34	„	had	„	was.
„	233n	„	4	*add*	is *after* It.		
„	239	„	17	*for*	at depicted	„	as depicted.
„	242n	„	2	„	Bleek	„	Bleeck.
„	250n	„	1	„	Fevrier	„	Février.
„	251	„	11	„	Skaikh	„	Shaikh.
„	252	„	8		[illegible]		[illegible]
„	252	„	9		[illegible]		[illegible]
„	252n	„	1	„	Berbier	„	Barbier.
„	253	„	28	„	Ruiu	„	Ruin
„	253	„	31		محمر		مجمر
„	253	„	31		يهشت		بهشت
„	255	„	6	„	Menyard	„	Meynard.
„	258	„	15		سوم		دوم
„	259	„	5 & 8	„	rèoeptaole	„	réceptaole.
„	259	„	22		[illegible]		[illegible]
„	261	„	6	„	a	„	à.
„	261	„	10	„	yoyagant	„	Yoyageant.
„	261n	„	1	„	Hnitiéme	„	Huitième.
„	262	„	4	„	Helas ...	„	Hélas.
„	262	„	7	„	deuxiéme	„	deuxième.
„	262	„	17	„	fèta	„	fête.
„	262	„	32	„	leys	„	les.
„	263	„	9	„	à aller à	„	à aller à.
„	263	„	20	„	oú	„	où.
„	263	„	22	„	etapes	„	étapes.
„	263	„	23	„	nommèe	„	nommée.
„	263	„	33	„	parteqù	„	parceque.
„	264	„	17	„	pes	„	pas.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
GRADUATE LIBRARY

DATE DUE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 02438 9713

DO NOT REMOVE
OR
MUTILATE CARD